

P. W. Edsall

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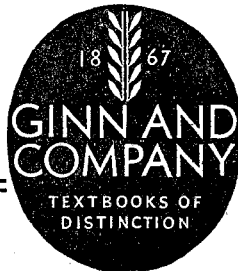
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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. LVII, No. 2

January, 1952

The Historical Spirit Incarnate: Frederic William Maitland*

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

THE hundredth anniversary of the birth of Frederic William Maitland fell in 1950. There is, however, a better reason than belated centennialism for pausing to consider what he stood for as a historian because what he stood for, unless I am much mistaken, needs to be emphasized today. Maitland has a message not only for professional students, teachers, and writers of history but for everybody who aspires to balance and sanity in his attitude toward the past. If a confession of historiographical faith on my part can be found in what I am going to say about him, this is something that will not greatly concern anyone but me. Yet it should perhaps be stated explicitly at the outset, rather than left to be inferred by you later, that Maitland has meant more to me than any other historian—not primarily for the subjects he dealt with, but for his methods, his insights, and his superb historical sense. He was a lawyer, and his specialty was the history of English law, though he did original and important work in other branches of history.

*Presidential address read at the annual dinner of the American Historical Association in New York on December 29, 1951.

But it would be wrong to think of him as just a lawyer who happened to become interested in the history of his subject. He was, rather, what his intimate friend and collaborator Sir Frederick Pollock called him, "a man with a genius for history, who turned its light upon law because law, being his profession, came naturally into the field." As a professor of legal history at Cambridge, he used medieval law as a tool to "open . . . the mind of medieval man and to reveal the nature and growth of his institutions," as one of his students, George Macaulay Trevelyan, has told us. I doubt whether any medievalist has ever made a more earnest and sustained effort to get inside the medieval mind.

The only one of Maitland's forebears who needs to be spoken of here is his grandfather, the Reverend Samuel Roffey Maitland, who was librarian to the archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace and wrote a number of books, mainly on medieval religious history. As a boy Frederic William visited from time to time at Maitland House, his grandfather's home in Gloucestershire, and later he came to have a great admiration for his historical writings. There were, in fact, striking resemblances between grandfather and grandson considered as historians.

The elder Maitland was never content to stop short of the most reliable available original sources for his historical knowledge, and he was distinctly critical, exceptionally so for his day, in handling historical evidence. He was, therefore, skeptical in his attitude toward historical traditions. As a medievalist he had a strong feeling for the general cultural context in which the institutions of the Middle Ages were embedded, and he was keenly sensitive to the differences between it and the cultural milieu of his own day—which is to say that he was historically-minded, and, being so, he was repelled by anachronism. He liked the medieval in the Middle Ages but not in modern times. Thus he had good things to say about medieval monasticism, but its merits in its own day were not, in his opinion, a valid reason for reviving the monastic system in nineteenth-century England, as had recently been proposed. Indeed, he did not believe that the *medieval* monastic system could be revived.

We have been hearing so much of late about subjectivity and objectivity in historianship, about the historian's "frame of reference" and "controlling assumptions," about history as faith *versus* history as science, that we may be in some danger of supposing that thought on such subjects is an exclusively twentieth-century form of cerebration. Samuel Roffey Maitland lived long before the term "historical relativism" had been coined, but in his

historical outlook he was a thorough relativist. He understood quite clearly that the institutions of the past could be comprehended only when viewed in their context, and he knew equally well that a man of the nineteenth century, even if he was a historian, could not become absolutely and consistently medieval. Here is a remark of his that could serve as a text for a discourse on historical relativism at a meeting of historians today: "Do what he may, no man can strip himself of the circumstances, and concomitants, which it has pleased God to place around him." Frederic William Maitland's indebtedness to his grandfather's critical methods and historical point of view was undoubtedly very considerable. A private letter of his, written early in his career as a historian, tells us as much.

As a student at Cambridge, where his earliest interests—in music, mathematics, and athletics—had little enough obvious relation to what was to be his lifework, Maitland before long came under the influence of the eminent philosopher, and professor of philosophy, Henry Sidgwick, with results of importance for his intellectual development. He read widely in various branches of philosophy, and to such good purpose that he came out at the head of the first class in the Moral and Mental Science Tripos of 1872. He acquired a reputation as a humorous and brilliant talker and an extremely effective public speaker, and already as an undergraduate he gave more than a hint of that flair for pointing an argument with an epigram that was to characterize his lecturing and writing in after years.

Maitland entered Lincoln's Inn in 1872 and was called to the bar in 1876. In the law chambers of Benjamin Bickley Rogers, who is still remembered in classical circles for the translations of the comedies of Aristophanes with which he beguiled his leisure hours, the young barrister specialized in conveyancing, and his familiarity with that highly technical branch of English law served him well in his later study of early English land deeds and charters. The testimony of Mr. Rogers is eloquent as to Maitland's extraordinary legal talents: "he had not been with me a week before I found that I had in my chambers such a lawyer as I had never met before. . . . his opinions, had he suddenly been made a judge, would have been an honour to the Bench."

Many lawyers have written history, and often, in sorrow be it added, quite untruthful history. The time-honored method of studying law, in English inns of court and American law schools, has not made for historical-mindedness. The lawyer is concerned with precedents, to be sure, but usually not with the context of his precedents. If, to quote some penetrating words that I have seen ascribed to my old friend Reed Powell, who has devoted his years

of discretion to the study of how judges think, "If you think that you can think about a thing, inextricably attached to something else, without thinking of the thing it is attached to, then you have a legal mind." The historical mind, on the other hand, sees past events in their contemporary contexts. In his inaugural lecture as Downing Professor of the Laws of England at Cambridge, delivered in October, 1888, and entitled "Why the History of English Law Is Not Written," Maitland, with characteristic insight, thus contrasted the legal mind and the historical mind:

... what is really required of the practising lawyer is not, save in the rarest cases, a knowledge of medieval law as it was in the Middle Ages, but rather a knowledge of medieval law as interpreted by modern courts to suit modern facts. A lawyer finds on his table a case about rights of common which sends him to the Statute of Merton. But is it really the law of 1236 that he wants to know? No, it is the ultimate result of the interpretations set on the statute by the judges of twenty generations. The more modern the decision, the more valuable for his purpose. That process by which old principles and old phrases are charged with a new content, is from the lawyer's point of view an evolution of the true intent and meaning of the old law; from the historian's point of view it is almost of necessity a process of perversion and misunderstanding.

Let me underscore one phrase in that quotation; we shall be coming back to it: *a knowledge of medieval law as it was in the Middle Ages.*

As a young man, and in fact throughout his life, Maitland took a lively interest in current affairs, though he did not find time to write much on them. For it was a settled conviction of his—in the opinion of some, this may be thought to date him—that the highest function of a historian is to be a historian. Law reform, however, was one of his early and abiding interests. His approach to the subject was historical, as we should expect, and his attitude toward it decidedly radical. As a young conveyancer, he declared in an article published in 1879 that what was needed was "nothing less than a total abolition of all that is distinctive in real property law," and it was his mature judgment, expressed toward the end of his life, that the historical spirit, far from being the handmaid of conservatism, was the natural ally of rational reform. He was spiritually akin to the great English law reformers of the early nineteenth century, and he could use equally vigorous language. He belonged in what Sir William Holdsworth called the "long series of judges, conveyancers, and legislators" whose efforts led to the drastic reforms in English property law in the 1920's. He was ever a sworn foe of what he called "out-worn theories and obsolescent ideas," though it should quickly be added that his historical sense prevented him from making the crude mistake of condemning theories or ideas in the past because they later became

incumbrances and impediments. In connection with the law of real property he spoke of the need of clearing up what he called "that great medieval muddle which passes under the name of feudalism," but he never expressed contempt for feudalism in the feudal ages. He did not endorse what he described as "the cheerful optimism which refuses to see that the process of civilization is often a cruel process," but on the other hand he never beheld myopic visions of golden ages in the good old days.

Two of Maitland's contemporaries, both of them close personal friends of his, did much to determine his lifework. One of these was Frederick Pollock, whose name is always linked with his. Pollock was a few years older than Maitland and preceded him by a few years in the educational procession—at Eton, Trinity College, Cambridge, and Lincoln's Inn. Maitland has recorded that it was through Pollock that his interest in legal history was first aroused. The two friends collaborated in writing the treatise that has been a classic in English legal history for more than a half-century, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, always cited as "Pollock and Maitland." The order in which the authors' names appeared on the title page was in accordance with professional legal usage, the order, namely, of seniority at the bar, but a note by Pollock, added to the preface, recorded that Maitland's share in the work, both as to research and as to composition, was by far the greater. One of my predecessors in this chair, who was also my old chief at Yale, George Burton Adams, pronounced "Pollock and Maitland" to be unequaled as a work of continuous institutional history—and Professor Adams was not addicted to uncritical eulogy.

The other friend whose influence on Maitland was very great was the Russian medievalist Paul Vinogradoff. Visiting England in search of materials for medieval history, Vinogradoff became greatly impressed by the immense stores of unexploited archive sources for English legal history in the Public Record Office in London. Meeting Maitland by chance in January, 1884, he communicated his enthusiasm to him, with results that were to be decisive in Maitland's career and momentous for the history of English law. "I often think," Maitland wrote to Vinogradoff some years later, "what an extraordinary piece of luck for me it was that you and I met upon a 'Sunday tramp.' That day determined the rest of my life." The first fruit of Maitland's enthusiastic explorations at the Public Record Office was an edition of an early thirteenth-century plea roll, which he published before the end of 1884, with a masterly introduction and an appropriate dedication to Vinogradoff. He had now entered on his lifework as a legal historian.

In that same year, 1884, Maitland began to teach at Cambridge. Four years

later he was elected Downing Professor of the Laws of England, and he held this chair for the rest of his life. As a lecturer he was pre-eminently original—illuminating, suggestive, and stimulating in what he had to say, which was carefully prepared, and impressive, humorous, and even at times dramatic in his manner of saying it. Students spoke of his power to create historical atmosphere and make dry bones live. In addition to formal lectures he used to give informal instruction in paleography and diplomatics to small groups of advanced students. My colleague Professor Shotwell, who knew Maitland in his later years and was familiar with the character and quality of his teaching, has spoken of this work of his as a kind of informal *Ecole des Chartes*.

In 1887 the Selden Society was founded for the purpose of advancing the knowledge of English law by publishing first-hand materials for the study of its history. Maitland was the prime mover in its establishment, became its literary director, and remained its inspiring genius until his death. Twenty-one volumes were issued by the society during his lifetime, of which eight were his own contributions, and all the others, some of them undertaken at his suggestion, underwent his editorial supervision. As a historical editor he was the opposite of perfunctory, and his introductions to his own volumes have been a boon to students because of his lucid presentation of his findings, his clear-visioned insights, his original and ingenious hypotheses, and his critical historical methods.

After all the argument and controversy that have been raging in historical circles regarding the uses and objectives of historical study, the nature of historical knowledge, and that perennially alluring apple of discord, historical relativism, most of us still speak respectfully, if not enthusiastically, about historical truth—that is, when we speak of it at all. Some of us are old enough to have listened to the impressive and beautiful address on “Truth in History” read before this Association nearly forty years ago by its President, my old and honored teacher, William Archibald Dunning, and all of us could read it with profit.

Only a selfless dedication to historical truth could have sustained labors so laborious and pains so painful as those to which Maitland subjected himself. A single instance must suffice for illustration. He turned from a continuation of *The History of English Law*, which he had much at heart, to the preparation of a critical edition of early Year Books because he regarded this latter as an indispensable preliminary to the former. To an understanding of the Year Books, however, there was also an indispensable preliminary—a thorough knowledge of the language in which they were written, the

Anglo-French language spoken in English law courts in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. And hence our historian turned grammarian, orthographer, and phoneticist. For the competence with which he performed this exacting and intensely laborious task we have the testimony of a distinguished contemporary French philologist, who recommended Maitland's excursion into medieval law French, published in the introduction to the first volume of the Year Books which he edited for the Selden Society, to all students of Old French in any of its numerous varieties. Maitland's achievement seems all the more remarkable in that he took no interest in philology for its own sake and that his work on the Year Books was done in the closing years of his life, under the severe handicap of illness and enforced absences from England. He retained to the very end his capacity for the drudgery involved in scholarship. The pursuit of historical truth, as he understood that term, was Maitland's ruling passion, and it explains, I think, most of his traits as a historian.

Anyone who has read more than a very little of Maitland is sure to be impressed by his concreteness and mastery of detail. He had a healthy distrust of the glittering generality that disdains illustration for he knew that concrete events are the stuff of history. One of the chief virtues of Stubbs's *Constitutional History of England*, in his judgment, was a concreteness exceptional in books on that subject. "People can't understand old law," he once remarked, "unless you give a few concrete illustrations; at least I can't." And so his writing is alive with facts and the doings of men, even though the men are sometimes necessarily left anonymous. He never forgot that human institutions and ideas have no existence, no life of their own, apart from human beings.

This concreteness of Maitland's, his factualism, goes far, if it does not go all the way, to explain his historical interpretations and conceptions of causation. You will search his writings in vain for any reference to historical laws, universal determinism of any variety (providential, economic, racial, geographical, or other), controlling social forces, or *Zeitgeist*. He himself, when young, had eagerly pursued philosophy as an academic subject, to be sure, and he must have heard great argument about causation, but the bent of his genius was historical. Perhaps he was too essentially and wholeheartedly the historian to take kindly to historical philosophy. You can find some "necessary conditions" in Maitland, but he did not mispend time and energy in the futile attempt to establish "fundamental causes." He knew that causation in history is always multiple and complex, and that among antecedents there

are always events that look like historical accidents, events, that is to say, which it seems impossible to account for as even probable results of *their known antecedents*. He was never guilty of the folly of brushing aside as useless or vain, conjectures on the part of historians in response to hypothetical questions contrary to historical fact. Without such conjectures, indeed, it would seem to be impossible to form any estimate of the significance of events and personalities in history, and he himself engaged explicitly in them. For example, in a passage in *The History of English Law* dealing with the results of the Norman Conquest in English legal history he asks whether a charter of liberties would ever have been granted in England if William the Conqueror had left only one son instead of three. And again, in his *English Law and the Renaissance*, where he is speaking of what he considered to be England's narrow "escape" from a reception of Roman law in the middle years of the sixteenth century, he says:

If Reginald Pole's dream had come true, if there had been a Reception—well, I have not the power to guess and you have not the time to hear what would have happened; but I think that we should have had to rewrite a great deal of history. For example, in the seventeenth century there might have been a struggle between king and parliament, but it would hardly have been that struggle for the medieval, the Lancastrian, constitution in which Coke and Selden and Prynne and other ardent searchers of mouldering records won their right to be known to school-boys.

With all his concreteness, however, Maitland was not bogged down in detail so as to be incapable of generalization. On the contrary, he exhibited the rare combination of mastery of detail and high generalizing power, though he knew that most historical generalizations need qualification. Generalization is constantly in evidence in his writings. It is shown in surveys such as his article on the history of English law in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, it is shown in epigrams scattered through his writings. These are never mere purple patches, sewn on for ornament. They are used to drive points home, to clinch arguments.

Though primarily a legal historian, Maitland was not a narrowly legal historian. He knew, of course, that specialization, division of labor, is necessary if historical study is to advance. But no historian has perceived more clearly that the various departments into which the whole field of history, considered as knowledge about the past, has been divided for convenience and scientific utility are not severally self-sufficient or self-explanatory. No historian has felt more sensitively that this departmentalization of knowledge does not correspond to anything in history, considered as the flow of events

in the past, to anything, that is to say, inherent in the historic process itself—that it tends, on the contrary, to obscure relationships that have always existed in that process as an undivided whole. He counted it for righteousness in his friend Leslie Stephen that he was “a great contemner of boundaries, whom no scheme of the sciences, no delimitation of departments, would keep in the highway if he had a mind to go across country.” Maitland knew that the historian of law must often go outside his own bailiwick for explanations, and, conversely, that specialists in other historical domains should often turn to the history of law. If medievalists today make greater use of legal materials as sources for English social, economic, and constitutional history than their nineteenth-century predecessors did, some of the credit for this improvement belongs to Maitland.

Maitland’s mind, like that of every other great historian, was of strongly critical cast. Constant exercise of private judgment must have strengthened the critical faculty in him, and reliance upon private judgment became very early a part of the man. There was in him, however, no tinge of arrogance or false pride of opinion. His ego never took precedence over his devotion to historical truth, and therefore he was never “exhausted in the effort to be omniscient,” as has been said of Karl Marx. In religion private judgment made him a dissenter even from Dissent, and it made him, as a historian, critical in his approach to historical evidence. What he admired most in his grandfather as a historian was his critical power. Maitland’s mind was of the rare type that does not take even commonplace things for granted. A useful collection of essays in historical criticism could be compiled from his writings.

Maitland’s independence of judgment could not fail to bring him at times into conflict with opinions and schools of thought that enjoyed wide acceptance and the endorsement of great names. But he was not polemical by preference. He never sought controversy, I think, or rejoiced in it, like some of his predecessors—and successors. Yet he was never overawed by authority, however eminent, and he did not shrink from taking issue with historians whom he respected if he became convinced that they were in error. He was habitually considerate and generous in his attitude toward other historical scholars and always tried to think the best of their performances. His historical criticisms, according to Vinogradoff, exemplified the maxim *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*. Only if he thought that injustice had been done did he show signs of strong feeling, and then he could be devastating, even though the injured party had been dead for half a dozen centuries.

Suggestiveness is a conspicuous characteristic of Maitland’s writing. He

addressed himself to a limited public, though he had no contempt for historical popularizers provided they were "honest and reasonably industrious," and he himself possessed literary gifts that could have placed him high in their ranks. In reviewing a ponderous work of Germanic historical scholarship he confessed that Gallic "high vulgarization" had its attraction for him. He was devoid of the intellectual snobbishness that values knowledge the more when it is esoteric. Still he was primarily a historians' historian, and he was always eager to aid other scholars and encourage them to labor, not in *his* vineyard (for no historian has been less monopolistic or proprietary in his attitude toward his field of specialization) but in the vineyard with him. His perception of historical problems awaiting solution and of work to be done in aid of historical scholarship made him extraordinarily fertile in suggestion, and a goodly crop of historical writing has stemmed from ideas which he threw out. To eliminate from written history, in the name of art, the evidences and inferences on which opinions have been based, to obscure the process of which the finished work is the final product, he considered to be a crime against history. He spoke with playful sarcasm of England as a land "where men are readily persuaded that hard labour is disagreeable and that the signs of hard labour are disgusting." He gave high praise to historians like Stubbs and Liebermann, who took their readers into their confidence and showed them historianship behind the scenes. Of Stubbs he said: "No other Englishman has so completely displayed to the world the whole business of the historian from the winning of the raw material to the narrating and generalising." This judgment can be applied with equal propriety to himself. Stubbs and Maitland were both historians' historians, both mighty contributors to historical knowledge, both eager to help others in advancing it, and both historical editors who carried the editorial art to its highest levels. No other series of introductions to historical sources and records—at least none in the English language—deserves to be placed abreast of Stubbs's or of Maitland's. No other English historian's footnotes have been more seminal than theirs. The dean of English medievalists of our own day, Professor Powicke, has declared that nothing can deprive the great works of these two masters of their pre-eminence.

Maitland conclusively refutes the false and mischievous notion, widely entertained though it is both in professional historical circles and by the history-reading public, that great learning and good writing are incompatible. We gild historians (with some exceptions of course) have tended to be suspicious of anything verging on style—that is, on good style. On the other hand, the esthetic sense of the public, at any rate as interpreted by com-

mercial publishers (and few publishers known to me are wholly uncommercial), is offended by obtrusive evidences of scholarship, insisting, for example, upon the elimination of footnotes or, at least, their consignment to the rear, where those whom they may concern can examine them—with a maximum of inconvenience. Maitland had, it is true, no craving for popularity, and his appeal has not been to the general reading public, largely no doubt because of the nature of his subject matter. A chapter which he contributed to the *Cambridge Modern History*, on "The Anglican Settlement and the Scottish Reformation," shows that he could write narrative history of the first quality when he wanted to. But the historian of institutions and ideas, and this, essentially, is what he was, has never enjoyed the popular favor accorded to narrative historians. "The History of Institutions cannot be mastered,—can scarcely be approached,—without an effort"—such is the majestic sentence with which Stubbs began the preface to his *Constitutional History of England*. You simply cannot imagine *Domesday Book and Beyond* superseding the latest best-selling novel on dressing tables in young ladies' boudoirs, the ambition that Macaulay cherished for his *History*. The kind of history to which Maitland devoted himself requires for its understanding more active response, more mental effort, a higher degree of sympathetic imagination on the reader's part, than the incisive rhetoric of Macaulay or the glowing prose of John Richard Green. It is also, as Maitland came to see, more risky than narrative history. "Would Gibbon's editor," he asked, "find so few mistakes to rectify if Gibbon had seriously tried to make his readers live for a while under the laws of Franks and Lombards?"

Yet Maitland was a consummate master of the art of expressing thought in English prose. Contemporaries who were familiar with his writings were all impressed by his literary qualities; and a generation after his death the editors of a collection of his articles coupled what they called "the matchless attraction of his style" with "the brilliant scholarship and originality of thought which he brought to bear upon every topic that he handled." He had no set method, nor any single manner, of writing. He was eloquent (though never pompous) or homely (though never vulgar) or gay (though never flippant), as the nature of his subject and his mood moved him. His style, if it can be spoken of in the singular, is singularly various, but it never lacks the quality of distinction. Humor is certainly one of its salient features, humor "abounding in delightful surprises," says Pollock, "overflowing even into the titles of learned papers, breaking out in footnotes with rapid allusive touches." "Humor in footnotes" is itself a delightful surprise which I respectfully commend to the attention of my fellow members of this Association.

Maitland had darts of sarcasm and irony in his armory, and he knew how to discharge them with telling effect, but his darts, however pointed, were never poisoned, and they were rarely aimed at individuals. He was well equipped with devices for fixing attention, facilitating understanding, and driving home arguments—reiteration and the use of the *leitmotif*, striking characterization, dramatic visualization, apt (and sometimes bold) literary quotation. A single example of the last, of almost audacious quotation, must suffice for illustration. In the introduction to his first major historical work, *Bracton's Note Book*, Maitland expressed the opinion that Bracton found some specific rules of Roman law handy, but that in the main he borrowed them for application in concrete cases only when there was no applicable English authority. Such a general statement was all very well, yet it might not stick. But who will forget the point after Maitland has called upon Hamlet to help him drive it in?

Imperial Caesar dead and turned to clay
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away.

John Fiske, in the preface to his *Discovery of America*, emphasizes the need of freeing our minds from “bondage to the modern map”—a phrase which he borrowed from Edward A. Freeman—if we wish to understand what the great mariners of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were seeking. “The ancient map,” he says, “must take its place. . . . In dealing with the discovery of America one must steadily keep before one’s mind the quaint notions of ancient geographers. . . . It was just these distorted and hazy notions that swayed the minds and guided the movements of the great discoverers.” Bondage to the modern map, however, has been only one phase of bondage to the modern in general, from which the writing of history has always suffered and from which, if a counsel of perfection is permissible, it ought to be freed. The process of emancipation needs to be extended to all branches of history—the history of institutions and ideas no less than the history of geographical discovery. Maitland’s clear and steady perception of this need in historiography and his fidelity to the liberating and therapeutic principle of historical-mindedness were, it seems to me, the most distinguishing factors in his greatness as a historian. His appreciation of ideological differences between past and present was plainly in evidence early in his career as a writer—in a dissertation in the field of political theory which he submitted in competition for a fellowship at Cambridge and in his earliest important contribution to legal history. His work, taken as a

whole, remains a standing protest against what Professor Sayles has recently called the "perverse historical doctrine that the past could only be understood in the light of the present."

A historical conviction of Maitland's that was rooted in his historical-mindedness was often reiterated in his writings, namely, that the course of development in legal thinking has been from the vague to the definite. In a striking passage in *Domesday Book and Beyond* he put this thought in these words:

The grown man will find it easier to think the thoughts of the school-boy than to think the thoughts of the baby. And yet the doctrine that our remote forefathers being simple folk had simple law dies hard. Too often we allow ourselves to suppose that, could we but get back to the beginning, we should find that all was intelligible and should then be able to watch the process whereby simple ideas were smothered under subtleties and technicalities. But it is not so. Simplicity is the outcome of technical subtlety; it is the goal, not the starting point. As we go backwards the familiar outlines become blurred; the ideas become fluid, and instead of the simple we find the indefinite.

Haze, Maitland often seems to be telling us, ought to be recognized for what it was. It should be allowed to remain hazy. It should not be given the semblance of clarity by having an unhistorical and false lucidity forced upon it. The temptation to clarify medieval haze is strong in the mind of the modern historian, but it ought to be strongly resisted: "We shall have to think away distinctions which seem to us as clear as the sunshine; we must think ourselves back into a twilight. This we must do, not in a haphazard fashion, but of set purpose, knowing what we are doing."

The baffling problems of interpretation with which Maitland, as a medievalist, felt himself forced to wrestle, raised no perplexing difficulties for the medievals themselves—did not, indeed, exist for them—but that was because haze was not disturbed by haziness. There were no medievalists in the Middle Ages, there were just medievals. The medievalist is an exclusively modern phenomenon, a fact to which most of his spiritual tribulations are attributable.

Historical-mindedness, Maitland soon came to realize, was especially difficult in the field of early law and custom. It was far harder to find out what our remote ancestors thought than to find out what words they used or what implements they made. Again and again, explicitly and implicitly, he tells us that we ought not to force modern ideas on the Middle Ages. The problem in hand may be the status of the *servus* of *Domesday Book*. We moderns can call him a slave, but was he thought of at the time as a thing or as a person—or as neither? "We may well doubt," Maitland's answer is, "whether this

principle—"The slave is a thing, not a person"—can be fully understood by a grossly barbarous age. It implies the idea of a person, and in the world of sense we find not persons but men." Modern legal theories are, in general, too definite, modern legal distinctions too sharply drawn, to suit medieval facts. The distinction, for example, between "alodial ownership" and "feudal tenure," a sharp distinction, as modern historians had usually supposed, ought not to be pushed back too far, for in the eleventh century men were said to *hold* land of others *in alodio*. It was the same in the domain of political ideas and theories—"our medieval history will go astray, our history of Italy and Germany will go far astray . . . unless we both know and feel that we must not thrust our modern 'State-concept,' as a German would call it, upon the reluctant material." Sometimes Maitland's interpretations involving striking contrasts between archaic and modern ways of thinking are positively startling, as in what he has to say about Anglo-Saxon ideas of justice in relation to judicial proof by oath:

The swearer satisfies human justice by taking the oath. If he has sworn falsely, he is exposed to the wrath of God and in some subsequent proceeding may perhaps be convicted of perjury; but in the meantime he has performed the task that the law set him; he has given the requisite proof. . . . The plaintiff, if he thought that there had been perjury, would have the satisfaction of knowing that some twelve of his enemies [the defendant's oath-helpers] were devoted to divine vengeance.

After-mindedness, that is to say, the retrojection into a past age of interests and ideas and attitudes and standards of later times, is likely, Maitland perceived, to lead us far astray in our interpretations of historical movements and tendencies, of human motives, of values in general. It may, for example, mislead us into mistaking progress for retrogression, it may persuade us that what was really contempt for a conquered people was an enlightened spirit of toleration, it may turn us topsy-turvy in our historical judgments on all kinds of questions. Even in the domain of ethics there were for Maitland no absolutes. All human conduct ought to be judged in relation to time and circumstance. Bracton, for instance, should not be accused of plagiarism because he did not conform to modern standards in acknowledging indebtedness to others. In his time nobody did. "Literary communism" was the order of the day.

Anachronism was as distasteful to Maitland, with his keen sense of time-depth, as it had been to his grandfather, and the obligation of the historian to be eternally vigilant in taking precautions against this historical disease is one of the great lessons to be learned from him. Anyone gifted

with historic sense must, he felt, dislike to see a rule or an idea unfitly surviving in a changed environment.

An anachronism should offend not only his reason, but his taste. Roman Law was all very well at Rome; medieval law in the Middle Age. But the modern man in a toga, or a coat of mail, or a chasuble, is not only uncomfortable but unlovely.

Anachronism, he perceived, often leads us to follow false scents. Many questions that have been asked about the past are unhistorical questions because they are anachronistic. It was peculiarly difficult, he realized, to avoid anachronism in the realm of ideas:

Against many kinds of anachronism we now guard ourselves. We are careful of costume, of armour and architecture, of words and forms of speech. But it is far easier to be careful of these things than to prevent the intrusion of untimely ideas. . . . If, for example, we introduce the *persona ficta* too soon, we shall be doing worse than if we armed Hengist and Horsa with machine guns or pictured the Venerable Bede correcting proofs for the press.

What Maitland called "antedating the emergence of modern ideas" he declared to be the "besetting sin" in the traditional attitude of the English legal profession toward medieval English legal history. It was not difficult, for example, for the modern lawyer to find corporations in England much too early—"when we turn to a far-off past we may be in great danger of too readily seeing a corporation in some group of landholders, which, if modern distinctions are to be applied at all, would be better classed as a group of joint tenants than as a corporation." We must take care, he urges us in many different connections, not to hurry history.

Antiquarianism, on the other hand, might run to excess and defeat its own purpose. Thus in the matter of orthography, Maitland's sound judgment saved him from following the example of Green, who sprinkled his pages on Anglo-Saxon England with such outlandish name-forms as Eadwine, Bæda, and Ecgberht. Maitland knew that the letter often killeth, and he felt, in all probability, that such antiquarian literalism tended to give a false impression of the bizarre and the fantastic, which impeded rather than facilitated historical comprehension. In dealing with Bracton he had to decide between the traditional spelling of his name and the spelling as it was written in Bracton's own day—"Bratton." He decided in favor of tradition: "Bracton he has been for centuries, and so let him be to the end."

Maitland knew too much history, and felt too historically about what he knew, to suppose that after-mindedness is a distinctly modern phenomenon. He knew that men in *all* ages had trodden that primrose path which has

always led to anachronism, distortion, and falsification of *earlier* ages. Thus medieval English lawyers were thoroughly after-minded. This was shown, for example, in the law of villeinage in the thirteenth century—"it seems to betray the handiwork of lawyers who have forced ancient facts into a modern theory." It was shown, too, in their attitude toward the old forms of action. As long as these were still in use it was difficult to tell the truth about their history:

There they were, and it was the duty of judges and text writers to make the best of them, to treat them as though they formed a rational scheme provided all of a piece by some all-wise legislator. . . . It was difficult to discover, difficult to tell the truth, difficult to say that these forms of action belonged to very different ages, expressed very different and sometimes discordant theories of law, had been twisted or tortured to inappropriate uses, were the monuments of long forgotten political struggles; above all it was difficult to say of them that they had their origin and their explanation in a time when the king's court was but one among many courts.

In a recent discussion of the *quo warranto* proceedings against franchise-holders in Edward I's reign Professor Plucknett has spoken of the application of new doctrines in the interpretation of old deeds and charters by "royal lawyers who had political reasons for exaggerating their natural lack of historical sense."

Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond* is a conspicuous example of what he himself called the "retrogressive method" in history, the method, that is to say, of proceeding from the later known to the earlier unknown. The question may properly be asked whether this method was consistent with his teaching against after-mindedness. There was, obviously, a danger that, in using the light of Domesday Book to lighten the darkness that lay beyond, anachronism and distortion would result, that what was true of England on the day when Edward the Confessor was alive and dead would be read back too far. Maitland was alert to this danger. We have his word for it that "the method which would argue from what is in one century to what was in an earlier century, requires of him who employs it the most circumspect management." It is clear, I think, that he looked upon the retrogressive method as one to be resorted to only for want of a better, only for lack of adequate contemporary evidence. It might sometimes be necessary, but it was never for him the ideal method. It is in this sense that I read the following sentences in that trail-blazing introduction which he wrote to his edition of the roll of the Lenten Parliament of 1305:

It is hard to think away out of our heads a history which has long lain in a remote past but which once lay in the future; it is hard to be ever remembering

that such ancient terms as *house of lords* and *peers of the realm* were once new terms; it is hard to look at the thirteenth century save by looking at it through the distorting medium of the fourteenth. . . . We must judge the rolls of Edward I's reign on their own merits without reference to the parliament rolls of his grandson's, or of any later, reign.

Did Maitland, any more than his grandfather, believe that absolute historical objectivity could be attained? Some words of his in *Township and Borough* suggest an answer he might have given to this question:

If we speak, we must speak with words; if we think, we must think with thoughts. We are moderns and our words and thoughts can not but be modern. Perhaps, as Mr. Gilbert once suggested, it is too late for us to be early English. Every thought will be too sharp, every word will imply too many contrasts. We must, it is to be feared, use many words and qualify our every statement until we have almost contradicted it.

Yet Maitland never yielded to discouragement, he never became a defeatist. He was too morally wise to grow cynical about ideals because it is of their nature to be not completely attainable. He knew that a man's reach should exceed his grasp, but it never occurred to him to build a philosophy of historiography upon the difference between the two. At the end of *Domesday Book and Beyond* he concludes with a paragraph of "last words," and this paragraph concludes with these last sentences of hopeful prophecy concerning the state of materials for the knowledge of "ancient English history," and the historical sense necessary for their interpretation, at the close of the twentieth century:

Above all, by slow degrees the thoughts of our forefathers, their common thoughts about common things, will have become thinkable once more. There are discoveries to be made; but also there are habits to be formed.

A mind as acute as Maitland's was inevitably much concerned with precise meanings of words, with nice distinctions between words, with varying senses in the use of words. His sensitivity to differing shades of meaning in words is shown, for instance, by the pains he took to demonstrate that in Bracton's day the word "manor" (*manerium*) was not a technical term of law, susceptible of precise definition. As a historian of law he was impressed by the fact that lawyers had taken their terms from the popular speech and given them technical meaning and definition. Sometimes, he noted, "a word continues to have both a technical meaning for lawyers and a different and vaguer meaning for laymen." In the sixteenth century, which to Maitland's mind was so critical a period in the history of the common law, it was no small matter, it seemed to him, that English lawyers had been able to define

their concepts sharply, to construct an adequate technical vocabulary, to think with precision. Technicality made the common law tough and immune to foreign legal influences. Had it been less technical and more homely, "Romanism would have swept the board in England as it swept the board in Germany."

At the very beginning of his career as a historian Maitland showed that he was already what might be called a historical semanticist, alert to changes in meaning which words have undergone in the course of time. He was ever conscious of the truth later expressed by Mr. Justice Holmes in a beautiful and famous metaphor: "A word is not a crystal, transparent and unchanged; it is the skin of a living thought and may vary greatly in color and content according to the circumstances and the time in which it is used."

Maitland's ear for gradations in the scale of meaning was extraordinarily sensitive; it would be difficult, in any of his writings, to find cases of semantic flattening or sharpening. In Anglo-Saxon *diplomata* he could distinguish the tones of a whole "graduated scale of carelessness, improvement, and falsification" that lay between "unadulterated genuineness and wicked forgery." For an understanding of early English landholding much hinges, he found, upon nice distinctions between the two Latin prepositions, *sub* and *de*. "We catch a slight shade of difference between the two," he tells us in *Domesday Book and Beyond*; "*sub* lays stress on the lord's power, which may well be of a personal or justiciary, rather than of a proprietary kind, while *de* imports a theory about the origin of the tenure; it makes the tenant's rights look like derivative rights:—it is supposed that he gets his land from his lord." A vivid appreciation of the instability of meaning attached to words was one of Maitland's major historical perceptions. An instance in point was the word "landlord." "We make one word of it," he said, "and throw a strong accent on the first syllable. The lordliness has evaporated; but it was there once. Ownership has come out brightly and intensely; the element of superiority, of government, has vanished."

The problem that lies at the heart of semantics arises from the false identification of, or confusion between, the verbal labels, or *symbols*, put upon things, objects, qualities, ideas, and, in general, whatever talk or writing is about, and the things, objects, qualities, and ideas to which the symbols refer, the *referents*, as semanticists call them. In reality, of course, there is no direct and inherent connection between the verbal label and the object referred to, as Locke was at pains to point out in his *Essay concerning Human Understanding*. You are no more really ladies and gentlemen than you are *mesdames et messieurs*, and a rose by any other name would smell as sweet. But the

assumption that a direct connection between symbol and referent actually exists is deeply engrained in human thinking, and semanticists regard this assumption as Public Enemy Number One. Symbols are often indeterminate and vague, and evoke widely different conceptions in different minds. Agreement regarding the referent may be called the goal of semantics.

Maitland did not employ the vocabulary of present-day semantics, which is not strange since the term itself was only beginning to come into English usage as the name of a theory, or science, of meaning toward the close of his life. But semanticists can claim him as one of theirs. Listen to this:

When King John granted the vill of Cambridge to the burgesses and their heirs, did he mean to confer an ownership of the soil upon a municipal corporation? One point seems certain. Neither John nor his chancellor would have understood the terms of our question. Both the right that is given and the person or persons to whom it is given are hazily and feebly conceived.

Isn't Maitland telling us that King John's referents were not sharply defined in his own mind? From a modern point of view, they were vague and hazy. And if King John's thirteenth-century referents leave something to be desired from our standpoint, what can we expect of the referents of Anglo-Saxon kings in their land-books? Again let Maitland tell:

... when our kings of the eighth century set their hands to documents written in Latin and bristling with the technical terms of Roman law, to documents which at first sight seem to express clear enough ideas of ownership and alienation, we must not at once assume that they have grasped these ideas.

In translating from other languages into English Maitland was confronted with the semantic problem. He frequently had to probe for an English equivalent of some foreign word and could not always find it. It was often difficult, if not impossible, he discovered, to translate a medieval Latin word accurately, and sometimes he had to be satisfied with the least inadequate English rendering of a German expression. He came to the conclusion that an English translation of the work of a German lawyer could, at best, never be entirely satisfactory: "To take the most obvious instance, his *Recht* is never quite our *Right* or quite our *Law*." Sometimes a German word seemed to Maitland definitely preferable to its not quite equivalent English translation. He was led to speculate on the comparative semantic merits of the English and German languages for legal history. The German historian, he concluded, had at his disposal more accurate terms and concepts than his English counterpart, but this was not an unmitigated advantage for it might lead him to construct theories about early times too sharp to be true. Still he

could see possibilities, said Maitland, that are "concealed from us in our fluffier language; and the sharp one-sided theory will at least state the problem that is to be solved."

Maitland's writings—his books, articles, introductions, and reviews—come to us from the generation before last, and it should go without saying that they are not at all points fully abreast of today's scholarship. Some of his opinions have been questioned, and here and there they have been corrected. To demonstrate this specifically would serve no present purpose, even if the hour were earlier. It should be said, however, that this is how he would have had it, for nothing was nearer to his heart than the hope that the work which was so dear to him would be carried forward by others, and he was, as we have seen, a welling source of inspiration. We may say of him what he said of an English historian of the generation before his own, J. M. Kemble—that no one "who has felt the difference between genius and industrious good intentions" can ever differ with him lightly or without regret. It is significant that Maitland's principal critics have been among his warmest admirers.

Judged, as every scholar ought to be judged, in relation to the state of knowledge and the standards of learning of his own day, Maitland was a towering figure. In an obituary article on his old friend and collaborator, Sir Frederick Pollock wrote:

It is not easy to convey an adequate notion of Maitland's work to those who have not themselves labored in the same field. It is still less easy for any one to appreciate the difficulties or the success who does not remember the conditions under which he started. . . . Looking back some twenty-five years, we see the early history of the Common Law still obscure, insulated, a seeming chaos of technical antiquities. Historians excusably shrank from it, and the lawyers who really knew much of it could almost be counted on one's fingers. . . . This was the world which Maitland's genius transformed. . . . So complete has the transformation been that our children will hardly believe how uncritical their grandfathers were, and on what palpable fictions they were nourished. . . . Maitland commanded the dry bones to live, and henceforth they are alive.

And one final estimate, by Sir William Holdsworth, the historian of English law, who was proud to profess himself a disciple of Maitland: "In an age of great historians I think that Maitland was the greatest, I think that he was the equal of the greatest lawyers of his day, and that, as a legal historian, English law from before the time of legal memory has never known his like."

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Emperor William II and Archduke Francis Ferdinand in Their Correspondence

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THE purpose of the following brief study is to make historians acquainted with that part of the *Nachlass* of the archduke Francis Ferdinand that deals directly with the relations between the German emperor and the Austrian heir apparent—the hitherto unpublished correspondence between the two princes. It is of course necessary to put the letters into their proper historical setting and to furnish the necessary information for the understanding of these important documents.

For two reasons it appears, however, not advisable to attempt in this study a new evaluation of the personalities of the emperor and the archduke. The emperor's highly characteristic letters, which form the bulk of this correspondence, represent such a relatively small part of the mass of his personal documents hitherto known that it would be presumptuous indeed to posit far-reaching new conclusions from them. The same obviously holds even more true for the archduke. The two letter drafts presented here are such an infinitesimally small part of his unpublished *Nachlass*¹ that it would be absolutely pointless on such a limited basis to draw far-reaching conclusions. Yet, within the wide frame of documentation and analysis of the huge mass

¹ The *Nachlass* of the archduke is deposited in the Austrian Hof- und Staatsarchiv. It is not part of the archives but is in the possession and under the trusteeship of the archduke's heirs, Duke Max and Prince Ernst of Hohenberg. It consists of well over 200 fascicles, each containing a great number of documents pertaining to all aspects of Austrian political life from the 1890's to 1914 and comprising, in addition to his own and his personal staff's papers, documents of a great number of personalities distinguished in the public life of that period. Furthermore the *Nachlass* of the former Austrian prime minister, Baron Max von Beck, deposited in the Österreichisches Verwaltungsarchiv contains the archduke's correspondence with Beck. Military papers of Francis Ferdinand's military chancellery in the Austrian Kriegsarchiv have not yet been made accessible to students of history. Even the bulk of the archduke's papers (the Hohenberg archives), sealed right after his death, were made accessible to a very small number of scholars only after the end of the Second World War. For permission to peruse these unpublished papers I am above all indebted to Duke Max of Hohenberg, and, for many kind services, to Dr. Gebhart Rath of the Austrian Hof- und Staatsarchiv. Credit for the classification and organization of the *Nachlass*—an impressive undertaking—goes to Count Georg Nostitz, cousin of the duke of Hohenberg, at present with the Österreichisches Finanzarchiv. I am indebted to Professor Eric Kahler of Cornell University for valuable assistance in the translation of these documents. For references to the history of the *Nachlass* by persons well acquainted with Francis Ferdinand's life, though not with the *Nachlass* itself, see Theodor von Sosnosky, *Franz Ferdinand* (Munich and Berlin, 1929), pp. viii, ix; Leopold von Chlumecky, member of the archduke's reform group, *Erzherzog Franz Ferdinands Wirken und Wollen* (Berlin, 1929), pp. 5, 6; Carl von Bardolf, director of the archduke's military chancellery from 1911 to 1914, *Soldat im alten Österreich* (Jena, 1939), pp. 183, 184.

of new historical information contained in the *Nachlass* as a whole, a re-evaluation of the archduke's personality will later be attempted and the proper conclusions will be drawn.

The correspondence discussed here deals with the momentous period from 1908 to 1914—more exactly January 18, 1908, to April 6, 1914, that is, from the time shortly before the outbreak of the Bosnian annexation crisis to the period shortly before the assassination at Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, leading directly to the outbreak of the First World War. At the time when the correspondence analyzed below commenced, the German emperor and the archduke were already on rather intimate terms, a fact which by no means implies that the two princes were intimate friends—at least not from the archduke's point of view.²

Relations between Francis Ferdinand and William II, however, had hardly been of an intimate nature before the turn of the century. As is generally known, the archduke became official heir apparent only after the death of his father, the archduke Charles Louis, Emperor Francis Joseph's brother, in 1896. More important, Francis Ferdinand's chronic pulmonary ailment which kept him away from public functions for some five years between 1892 and 1897 made any far-reaching political contacts difficult. These "formative years" in the growth of the archduke's somber and easily distrustful nature during a time when court and public life turned to his younger brother, Archduke Otto, precluded any intimate contact with a

² The correspondence with William II belongs to the second part of the *Nachlass*, letters comprising twenty-three boxes and three separate fascicles. Within this special collection it is deposited in box 6. The bulk of the correspondence with the German emperor consists of letters received by the archduke. Only two drafts of the heir apparent's documents, one of them, however, of great importance, are included. According to information received from the duke of Hohenberg, the archduke's letters to William II, probably deposited in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, could not be found after the war. Many references to the political issues covered in these letters are to be found in the two great publications of documents on foreign policy. (1) *Die grosse Politik der europäischen Kabinette 1871-1914* (40 vols. in 54; Berlin, 1922-26; hereafter cited as *Grosse Politik*); the period pertaining to these letters is covered in Vols. XXIII-XL. (2) *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik von der bosnischen Krise 1908 bis zum Kriegsausbruch* (9 vols.; Vienna, 1930; hereafter cited as *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik*). References to these two collections are given in the following notes by numbers of volumes and documents. Occasional page references refer to editorial notes only. An attempt obviously cannot be made to list even the main references here which deal with the relationship between William II and Francis Ferdinand during that period. Of particular significance are, however, as mentioned above, Sosnosky, *Franz Ferdinand*, pp. 154-66; Chlumecky, *Erzherzog Franz Ferdinands Wirken und Wollen*, pp. 75-79, 91, 92, 257, 357-59. See also Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf, Austrian chief of the general staff, *Aus meiner Dienstzeit* (5 vols.; Vienna, 1921-22; hereafter cited as Conrad), I, 134 f., 148, 149-53, 158, 159; II, 39, 94, 389; III, 81, 155, 169, 275, 488, 503, 597; Count Joseph Stürgkh, *Im deutschen grossen Hauptquartier* (Leipzig, 1921), pp. 92, 93; Maurice Muret, *L'archiduc François-Ferdinand* (Paris, 1932), pp. 142-63, 249-66; Ottokar Count Czernin, minister of foreign affairs, 1917-18, *Im Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1919), p. 55; A. von Margutti, aide-de-camp of Emperor Francis Joseph, *Kaiser Franz Joseph* (Vienna, 1924), p. 128; Prince Bernhard von Bülow, *Memoirs* (4 vols., English ed.; Boston, 1931-32), I, 462-65, 715, 716; II, 389, 390, 453-55.

foreign sovereign—which could never have been cultivated anyhow without the approval of the emperor Francis Joseph. And the years from 1897 to 1900, the period in which Francis Ferdinand regained and strengthened his position in the political life of the monarchy, were largely taken up by the struggle to overcome the emperor's opposition to his morganatic marriage to Countess Sophie Chotek, later duchess of Hohenberg. During this long conflict there was even a possibility that Francis Ferdinand, if not successful, might abandon his right to the succession and retire to private life. Only after he had won, at the price of renouncing any claims of his future sons to the imperial succession, did his powerful influence on imperial affairs begin to be apparent.

The history of the marriage struggle has a direct and important bearing on the archduke's relationship with William II. Count Joseph Stürgkh relates quite reliably that the German emperor, as late as 1898 or 1899, was well aware of the fact that the Austro-Hungarian heir apparent did not entertain particularly friendly feelings toward him. Yet, possibly from personal vanity and certainly for obvious reasons of state, he earnestly endeavored to come to friendly, on the surface even to intimate, terms with "Archduke Francis Ferdinand, who does not like me."³ The lever which he used to achieve this—a difficult undertaking in view of the archduke's proud and aloof character—was not merely the display of his undeniable though often somewhat crude charms but the marriage question itself. Not only did he exert his influence on Francis Joseph to give his consent to the marriage but he and King Carol of Rumania were the first and only sovereigns who treated the archduke's consort officially on practically equal social footing, an attitude contrasting sharply with that of the imperial Austrian court.⁴

While the influence of the emperor's attitude on behalf of the archduke's difficult domestic position should not be underestimated, it would be naïve to assume that it altogether determined Francis Ferdinand's position toward the emperor. Shy and aloof, despising the popularity sought by William II, he was deeply conscious of the imperial dignity of the Habsburg House, much of whose substance the dynasty had lost to the Hohenzollerns in 1866 and 1871. The archduke was obviously torn by the ambivalent feeling of having to deal with a sovereign who, from his point of view, was but an upstart but whose political support he needed. To make matters worse, he, as mere heir to the throne, had to deal with the emperor in deferential terms.⁵ Surely, if one takes this psychological background of the two princes' per-

³ Stürgkh, pp. 92 f.

⁴ See Bülow, I, 462-65, 715, 716; Sosnosky, pp. 29, 31.

⁵ See Czernin, p. 55; Margutti, pp. 117-21.

sonal relationship into consideration it becomes clear that the seeming cordiality of their intercourse implied great skill on the emperor's part and great restraint on the archduke's.

The correspondence preserved in the *Nachlass* begins with a letter by the kaiser dated Berlin, January 18, 1908, dealing with the critical situation in the Ottoman Empire in the month preceding the outbreak of the Young Turk revolution in July of that year, which event led directly to the Bosnian annexation crisis. In reference to the reform work sponsored or rather ostensibly sponsored by the concert of Great Powers in what was then Turkish Macedonia, William II writes as follows:

MY DEAR FRANZI!⁶

You will perhaps still remember that in our discussions last spring we touched upon the Balkan question. You were kind enough to tell me then that it would be of the greatest importance to strengthen the authority of the sultan as much as possible to stop murder, devastation, and conflagration among the Christian Balkan peoples. . . . Yet, unfortunately, this idea has been constantly violated in the course of the years by the so-called "*Reformwerk*"⁷ of the Powers. . . . All so-called *Reform* means a deterioration of Balkan affairs. The consequences have been renewed outbreaks of hatred, murder, and pillage; only among the *Christians* to be sure; up to now the Moslems have not participated. The reason is simple. Each attempt at so-called *Reform* on the part of the foreign powers has in reality led to the destruction of part of the sultan's authority. . . . Any such weakening has increased hope for a *distribution of the spoils* among the Balkan Christians. Hence everybody emphasizes his ethnic interests to snatch the biggest morsel. Logically this causes conflicts with the neighbors who think along the same lines and, according to the customs of the Balkan *Christians* it leads to murder, arson, and mutual homicide. . . . [In particular the effects of the so-called reform of the judicial branch of government by the blundering and, as to Turkish institutions, ignorant six ambassadors of the Great Powers is detrimental since it trespasses on Mohammedan religious institutions and creates bitter feeling among the Mohammedans. This will lead to dangerous friction.] I have instructed my ambassador that most certainly I shall *not* participate in this judicial reform [*Justizreform*] action. On the contrary, I shall do everything to support and strengthen the sovereignty of the sultan. I should think that it would be a most vital interest of Austria on her part to turn away from the "reform" which has led into such a questionable track. Austria should back the sultan. If for no other reasons, Austria as the possessor of Bosnia-Herzegovina should prevent unrest in

⁶ This diminutive of Franz, used only by close relatives and most intimate friends of princely rank in their relation to the archduke, is in this respect equivalent to the kind of familiarity in the famous Willy-Nicki correspondence. Emperor and archduke use the intimate "*du*" in their correspondence, with the difference however that William II addresses himself directly to his "dear Franzi" while the archduke uses the respectful "*Du, Majestät*." Because of the somewhat archaic connotation of "thou" in the English language the personal pronoun "you" will be used in the following translations. The impetuous emotional character of the emperor betrays itself quite frequently in hasty writing in the form of faulty and incomplete syntax. Except for minor clarifications, an attempt has been made to preserve the imperial style in the translations.

⁷ Underlined in the original, as are the subsequently underlined words and phrases, except where required by editorial practice for foreign words and phrases.

the Balkans which may lead finally to a general conflagration. If I express this here I do it because I am the faithful and sincere friend and ally of your country, whose interest it is that the united [*sic*], conservative, and peaceful Turkish empire will not be replaced by new states with ultrademocratic constitutions and unbridled ambitions. . . . [Thus in particular the question of judicial reform in Macedonia should be deferred.] This would be a way out which without violating the Great Powers' prestige in any way, would protect Europe, the peace, and the great general conservative interests from serious dangers. I feel I can pledge that all participants would be sincerely grateful to Austria if she were to point to this course and to recommend it. . . .

Your faithful friend and cousin

WILLIAM

This letter is in line with the pro-Turkish though certainly not unselfish Oriental policy of Germany. It shows an understandable reluctance to be drawn into Balkan conflicts, following somewhat the line of Bismarck's wise but haughtily expressed opinion that the whole of the Balkans was not worth the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier. Finally the feelings of conservative monarchic solidarity expressed here are certainly characteristic of the general sentiments of both emperor and archduke.

There was however obviously a more specific reason for William's letter, which contained not only a suggestion regarding judicial reforms in Macedonia and the Ottoman Empire as a whole but an implied warning against too ambitious an Austrian Balkan policy. The reasons were obvious. In December, 1907, Austria-Hungary had informed the sultan of her intention to build a railway through the Sanjak of Novibazar via Sarajevo to Mitrovitza. From there direct connection with the Turkish and Greek railroad net could be established. A practically direct line—Vienna-Budapest-Sarajevo-Salonika-Athens—might thus have been set up and the economic and, indirectly, the political predominance of Austria in the western Balkans would have been strengthened. The project might of course have interfered with German economic interests in the Near and Middle East, but there is no reason to doubt the fact that apart from this consideration the disquieting effect of that move on the status quo in the Balkans and above all on Russia was disconcerting to the German government.⁸

The next brief letter from the emperor, written in November, 1908, from

⁸ Legally, on the basis of Article 25 of the Berlin Congress Act of 1878, Austria was unquestionably entitled to raise this question though not to act upon it unilaterally. Yet by the end of January, 1908, the Turkish government reluctantly agreed to the Austrian plan. This, however, did not dispose of the disturbing political effect of the move which as a consequence of the annexation crisis had to be dropped anyway before long. On the Sanjak railway issue, see *Grosse Politik*, XXVI/2, 8681–8760, particularly 8691; *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik*, I, 680–827; Berthold Molden, *Alois Graf Aehrenthal* (Austro-Hungarian minister of foreign affairs) (Stuttgart, 1917), pp. 32–38.

Donau-Eschingen, the castle of his Austrian friend Prince Max Egon Fürstenberg, warns Francis Ferdinand of military preparations in Young Turk military circles against Austria which, according to William's information, have the support of the British government. The following one, dated Potsdam, Neues Palais, December 16, 1908, is concerned with internal German politics, namely, the domestic opposition against William II aroused by the indiscreet *Daily Mail* interview of October 29, 1908.⁹

It is highly characteristic that here where his personal prestige is concerned the emperor shows nothing of the rather reasonable attitude apparent in his correspondence on Balkan politics. He writes thus:

MY DEAR FRANZI!

Your letter which shows kindness and warm sympathy has touched me most deeply. Your kind words radiating your friendship so precious to me have really done me good! Such comforting words from a friend are needed in these dark days of distress. Comfort given by you is doubly valuable and balm to the deep wounds inflicted on me by the people at home. On the whole you are *au courant* of the events and you therefore can understand what new effort it meant for me to act as if everything were all right—and to continue to work with men through whose dereliction of duty and moral cowardice I was deprived of the defense which in every other state would be granted to its head without hesitation. It is particularly pleasing to me to have received so many proofs of sympathy from Austria; strangely enough, the same attitude is expressed in numerous letters which I have received from strangers of all strata and classes of the English people and society. The vulgarity of the German press, the undignified and particularly mean conduct of the German Reichstag are generally condemned most sharply, no less than the unbelievable cowardice of the officials who left their master shamefully "*in the lurch*" [*sitzen gelassen haben*]. This begins to be felt by the poor German people which has been thoroughly fooled and totally deceived by the perfidious hatred of European Pan-Jewry but which now slowly recovers from the Jewish press hullabaloo and noise.¹⁰ The German people begins to search its heart and to realize what has been done to it and what it has been dragged into. Meanwhile I have set skillful bloodhounds on the tracks of the "swinish press fellows" and have already obtained pretty good results [*geschickte Spürhunde auf die Fährten der "Saubengels" von der Presse gesetzt*]. As I suspected, a whole ring of blackguards from all classes and occupations has been discovered. These fellows don't suspect anything yet! In these bad days Max and Irma were like brother and sister to me, really quite touching!¹¹ It took me four weeks to recover from the hard November days, partly a consequence of dear Hülsen's tragic and sudden death. . . .¹²

⁹ See particularly Bülow, *Memoirs*, II, 389-438.

¹⁰ Generally anti-Semitic diatribes are not frequent in the kaiser's utterances. On the other hand, the anti-Semitic attitude of the archduke was rigid and widely known. It is fair to assume that these remarks are tuned to the views of the recipient of the letter, possibly in answer to remarks in Francis Ferdinand's untraceable letter, answered here.

¹¹ Prince and Princess Max Egon Fürstenberg in Donau-Eschingen, with whom the emperor stayed during the November crisis.

¹² Count Dietrich Hülsen-Haeseler, chief of the emperor's military cabinet who died in Donau-Eschingen from an apoplectic stroke. According to Court Marshal Count Zedlitz-

The whining, self-pitying attitude, the total lack of self-criticism in a crisis for which William II was himself primarily responsible, linked to aggressiveness toward his critics, particularly to the "unbelievable cowardice of the officials who left me in the lurch"—a phrase obviously aimed primarily at the soft Reichstag defense of the emperor's action by Chancellor Bülow—show William II indeed at his worst.

A more reasonable emperor appears again in the letter from Potsdam dated December 31, 1908, which takes him back to the Balkan crisis.

MY DEAR FRANZI!

Your kind letter with the friendly New Year's wishes has touched me deeply and makes the end of the year happy for me. Permit me too to convey to you the most cordial blessings for yourself and your dear ones. God's blessing and support are needed for everything, but above all if one takes crucial steps in the life of the nation as is the case with you [*Euch*]. We are taking serious problems into the New Year. Their solution is still outstanding.¹³ The crux of the situation rests with a certain firm . . . about which we have talked so often and on whose attitude we are thoroughly agreed.¹⁴ She agitates against both our countries unscrupulously . . . in Paris, Madrid, Rome, above all in St. Petersburg and Istanbul. Her aim is a great *continental war* of everybody against everybody with the intention of fishing in troubled waters and weakening *all* of us. Russia however does *not* want war—because she *cannot* fight now. However, in Izvolski's speech one may perceive the plan to organize a Balkan alliance of the *South Eastern Slav* peoples against you. This fits in well with the plans of the other power. I believe this plan can best be spiked if you tie Bulgaria firmly to you [*Euch*] and induce her to go with you. As soon as she shows herself publicly on your side she will prove that her interests will be protected by you even though she is *Slavonic*.

Thereby, by an evident *fact*, the bottom will be immediately knocked out of the gossip of threatened Slavdom, and Izvolski will be deprived of one of his means of propaganda. Rumania also will go with you [*Euch*]. In this way you will have the two best Balkan states and sovereigns on your side. This too will be a factor in the calculation in case the situation should become serious. I think one could have the Turks too. They are urgently in need of a lot of money. It would be a pity if they were to get it *all* from the other side of the sea and if they were to become even more dependent on the wishes entertained there. The Oriental is readily approachable by gifts. Provided the baksheesh is not too small, it will not miss its effect. As to this question a great banker would give good information; perhaps Taussig¹⁵ would provide counsel in this matter? After all, the Duma too has emphasized in a resolution that the "solution" should be brought about by "*peaceful*" means! Would it not be splendid if by way of negotiations the three imperial powers could get together again on the basis of their "community of

Trützschler this happened right after the count, dressed in the costume of a ballerina, had danced a pirouette for the benefit of the emperor and his entourage. See Count Robert Zedlitz-Trützschler, *Zwölf Jahre am deutschen Kaiserhof* (Stuttgart, 1924), pp. 216–18. See also B. Schwertfeger, editor of the imperial chief of cabinet, R. von Valentini, *Kaiser und Kabinettschef* (Oldenburg, 1931), pp. 102, 103.

¹³ See *Grosse Politik*, XXVI/1, 9090–9176; *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik*, I, 680–827.

¹⁴ Obviously Great Britain.

¹⁵ Theodor von Taussig, governor of the Austrian Bodenkreditanstalt.

interests"? Anyhow, I have let it be known in Sofia that my support of recognition¹⁶ and my friendly attitude would depend exclusively on the question whether Ferdinand Naso will place himself determinedly on your side, which I would strongly advise him to do.¹⁷ As for the rest I hold myself prepared for everything that God may ordain. I keep my powder dry and I am on my guard. You know that *you* may count on us. Whether our army is any good you are in the best position to judge yourself. . . .

This letter, discounting the habitual imperial braggadocio, is certainly in line with the basic principles of Bülow's Balkan policy, that was, up to a point, to support Austria's Balkan policy but at the same time to exercise a restraining influence on her. It is open to question whether in the last sentences of this letter the emperor, on the spur of his own impetuosity, may not have gone somewhat beyond these limitations.

In the following letter, however, William II's attitude in the Balkan crisis appears more restrained in his intentions though, as usual, not in their expression. In this letter, dated Potsdam, January 14, 1909, he congratulates the archduke on the conciliatory Austrian offer to Turkey to settle the financial questions arising from the rapidly developing annexation crisis.¹⁸ Then, with his typical irritation, which was by no means necessarily antipathy, toward England, William continues:

. . . It is very amusing that without the slightest embarrassment we were told in London they [the British government] had very definitely indicated to Istanbul to accept the offer. Thus Albion arbitrarily issues orders and blows hot and cold, entirely according to her pleasure and need, just as it serves her purpose. Our joint attitude has impressed her and therefore she comes round. The royal couple¹⁹ will come for a visit next month which probably will lead to a relaxation of tension in England as well. The effect of Reval was not quite strong enough.²⁰ The swinish attacks of the press against me are still in full swing as they were in the fall. . . .

And now for a change the scene shifts to Austrian domestic politics in which William II, as usual sure of his "superior" knowledge, offers the archduke his unsolicited counsel, obviously in reply to a letter in which Francis Ferdinand had given vent to his consistently anti-Magyar policy. Almost certainly the archduke must have dwelt in particular on his favorite theme, the revision of the Compromise of 1867, which according to him and

¹⁶ Declaration of full independence of the whole of Bulgaria from Turkey and assumption of the title of tsar by Prince Ferdinand, on October 18, 1908.

¹⁷ Mocking reference to King Ferdinand of Bulgaria with the big nose.

¹⁸ See *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik*, I, 880.

¹⁹ Edward VII and Queen Alexandra.

²⁰ The *entrevue* between Tsar Nicholas II and Edward VII in July, 1908. See *Grosse Politik*, XXV/2, 8798-8829.

so many others had established an inordinate and dangerous Magyar supremacy in the Danube monarchy. The emperor writes from Berlin on February 12, 1909:

MY DEAR FRANZI!

Your informative and so interesting letter means to me a renewed proof of your faithful friendship and frank confidence. I thank you for it from the bottom of my heart. It honors me and makes me happy at the same time.

The dangers which you foresee will develop in the future within the monarchy in relation to Hungary interest me greatly. To be sure, it is not easy to treat the Magyar, chauvinistic and vain as he is, in the right manner. As you say, these qualities have even been strengthened by too much indulgence. Therefore it is difficult to draw a proper limit to concessions. That they must not be made at the expense of the armed forces . . . is obvious.

On the other hand, the Slav danger has revealed itself amazingly in its delusion and violence within the last months. According to your presentation Belgrade and Prague conspire on the basis of a fixed program. . . . Behind both of them stands Moscow, in how far Cracow and Lemberg are in the game I cannot judge. Now apparently the *Pan Slav* danger is the greater one for Austria since it pulls its lever in your own country through the Czechs against Austria and her imperial character. It endangers the preservation of the monarchy *because she has recently incorporated Slavonic lands* and thus is in the process of becoming a *second Slavonic Great Power* besides . . . Slavonic Russia.

In the future one may have to count on this Pan Slav enmity—fomented by other Great Powers—to an increasing degree; [that is] because of the fear of competition and therefore *division* of the whole Slavonic power *between* you [Austria] and Russia. Russia will always watch this suspiciously. The best support against the Pan Slav danger and its machinations is (a) a solid, good relationship with Rumania, (b) the same with Bulgaria, (c) with Turkey. In addition, the hatred of the Magyars against everything Pan Slav would provide a good support against all Slav velleities and particularly in the South. After all, the chauvinism of the Magyars derives from a glowing patriotism even though it has a separatist taint. Guided in the right direction it might well be possible to use it for the common good of the fatherland. . . .

The emperor then recounts a discussion with the Ottoman ambassador to Germany on the political designs of the Young Turk movement. According to the ambassador—a prominent Young Turk himself—his friends want a solid friendship with Germany, Austria, Rumania, if possible Bulgaria, and, he hopes, England. This coalition would have to face a Slav-Latin, i.e., Russian-Serbian-French, bloc, whose members have done much harm to Turkey in the past and may be expected to do so in the future. William II claims to have exerted a restraining influence on the ambassador regarding Turkish-Austrian relations, particularly in regard to the movement to boycott Austrian goods by Turkey following the Bosnian crisis.

The emperor then proceeds to discuss the Berlin visit of the British royal couple:

King Edward has just left me.²¹ The visit went off very well and had a very relieving and satisfactory effect. The signing of the Morocco agreement with France pleased him particularly. It has contributed much to alleviate British worries. The annexation [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] was also brought up, and where divergent views came to the fore it was easy for me to exert an informing and reassuring influence. He also talked about the naval question. Yet he fully recognized the legitimacy of the German standpoint of *Interessenpolitik* which [according to the king] is the only correct basis for the navy bill the realization of which does not disturb him in any way. He told me that after I had declared that the bill would be put into practice without modifications to the last dot on the *i*. Thus also this controversial point has been eliminated. . . .

Then the emperor reflects on the king's apparently poor health and comments sardonically on the arrogant and condescending attitude which the British visitors—to him plainly all Britons—take toward German conditions. One of the queen's ladies in waiting

vented her surprise on finding here in the castle bathrooms, dressing tables and even soap and towels. She had been instructed in London that those things were not to be found here. Another high personality of the British entourage was equally surprised that Berlin had real streets with beautiful hotels and large stores. So many people were crowding the streets, where might they all live? It seems the good British had believed they were going to the Eskimos . . . or to the Botokudes . . .!

The foregoing significant letter takes up three issues. The first is William's superficial evaluation of the intricate Austrian nationality problem as seen from the vantage point of official Germany with its interest in the Austrian alliance. This means that only the Austro-Germans and Magyars count within that system, the Austro-Germans as kin of the big brothers in the north, the Magyars as chief adversaries of the Slavs, that is, as an important pawn in the game against Russia. Thus by implication the preservation of the dualistic Compromise of 1867 and not the semifederalist anti-Magyar reform plans of Francis Ferdinand should remain the basis of the Austrian monarchy's structure in a future conflict with Russia. From this ideology derives Bethmann-Hollweg's August, 1914, statement that the World War was to be the decisive struggle between Germandom and Slavdom with its harmful psychological effect on the Slav majority of the Danube monarchy's population.

Secondly William II, implicitly revealing the imperialist dreams of a Great German Oriental policy, again wants to restrain Austria not only from a sweeping domestic national reform program but from too stiff an attitude in the Bosnian crisis.

²¹ On the visit see *Grosse Politik*, XXVI/2, 9373, 9374, 9386; Bülow, *Memoirs*, III, 468–75.

Finally he again expresses his ambivalent attitude toward Great Britain. The supposedly amusing and probably exaggerated report on the British royal entourage's evaluation of standards of civilization in Berlin is evidence of his typical inferiority complex with regard to the British. His uncompromising stand on the naval policy as revealed in this letter confirms his known fateful illusions on this most sensitive spot of his policy. His words prove again, if such further proof is needed, that he saw the world as he wanted to see it. While it is certainly true that the cautious Edward VII neither then, before, nor later showed himself publicly alarmed about the German naval program, Bülow's discussion with Lord Crewe, Lord President of the Council, during that visit and during the following renewed considerations of a possible British-German naval understanding prove that a reduction or slowing down of the German naval program was at that time an objective—perhaps the chief objective—of British policy.²² That Edward VII thus should have voiced no concern whatsoever in regard to the kaiser's maritime plans, appears in all likelihood to spring from the kaiser's lively imagination.

The draft of Francis Ferdinand's answer to this letter is his only major contribution to the correspondence preserved in Vienna. The very fact that he composed a draft of that answer in longhand proves not only that he considered the issue to be raised important but also that he was well aware of the fact that he must voice his opposition to the kaiser's views on Austrian national affairs in diplomatic language in order to avoid any friction with his exalted friend.²³

The archduke refers first to his reception by the Magyars on his way back from the meeting at Sinaia.

BLUHNBACH, [no date].

... Naturally the Magyar nobles have made use of the opportunity to conduct themselves infamously and disloyally and to demonstrate against the action which I represent.²⁴ The good Rumanians, always faithful to the imperial dynasty, wished to greet and cheer me at the railway stations, yet on order of the revolu-

²² See Bülow, III, 475-88.

²³ Francis Ferdinand's draft is of course not dated. It certainly was written shortly after his return from a state visit to King Carol of Rumania in Sinaia in early July, 1909. The first sentences of the letter refer to that visit. The *Nachlass* contains two more letters by the kaiser written to the archduke between February 12 and July, 1909, but they do not deal with Austrian domestic problems. Undoubtedly Francis Ferdinand answered them (see particularly the emperor's letter of April 9, 1909), but neither the drafts nor the originals of these letters have been preserved. It is most likely that in his letters between February and July, 1909, the archduke confined himself, like the kaiser, to the discussion of current affairs and postponed answering his letter about the relatively more static Austrian nationality problems to the summer of 1909.

²⁴ Obviously this means to work for cordial relations with Rumania on the basis of at least some concessions to the status of the Rumanians in Magyar-ruled Transylvania.

tionary Kossuth-Wekerle government²⁵ they were chased away by the bayonets of the Magyar rural police and were not allowed to greet me. The Privy Councillor, excellency Prime Minister Wekerle, initiated a base, mendacious campaign in all newspapers, the like one would not find in any other civilized state. This is repeated proof of my assertion that the so-called noble, chivalrous Magyar is the vilest, most perfidious, and most unreliable fellow; all the difficulties that we have to face in the monarchy have their origin with the Magyars. In your last kind letter, Majesty, you mentioned that you consider the Slav danger the most serious for our lands.

I take the liberty to agree fully with your opinion. I too consider this Slav advancing and pushing, this stormy raising of demands, this blackmailing on behalf of party interest, this artificial fabrication of difficulties contrary to the necessities of the state, most dangerous. Yet, where is the core of the evil? Who has been the teacher of all those elements that succeed by revolutionary pushing and excesses? The Magyars.

A few years ago, who had heard anything of Young Czechs or radical anti-militaristic Czechs? Who had heard anything about a Slovene question, about Trialism, about Czech schools, about a Southern Slav question, about the Slavization of whole communities and regions, etc., etc.? Prague for instance was a German city, now one almost gets killed if one talks one word of German there, and so on. The Slavs act that way only because they imitate the conduct of the Magyars and because they see how the Magyars get all they want by their shameless tactics. I am fully convinced and I could vouch for it that at the very moment the wicked conduct of the Magyars is stopped, the Slavs too will halt their stormy advance. They will again submit quietly and peacefully to the culturally much more advanced Germans. This can be done *very* easily. The Magyar as a genuine Hun and Asiatic is just bragging, yet he will immediately yield to force. If one wants quiet and order in the monarchy to be free to conduct a vigorous foreign policy, beneficial to all peoples and in line with the allied powers, there is only one remedy and one requirement; that is to break the *predominance of the Magyars*.

Otherwise we shall with absolute certainty become a Slavonic empire, and Trialism, which would be a tragedy, is impending. . . .

This depressing, unbalanced draft seems to speak for itself or, in other words, for the often unrestrained, stormy disposition of the archduke. Surely such utterances appear less excusable on the part of a man who for a decade had consistently struggled with the problems of reform in the Austrian empire than do similar uncontrolled statements from the dilettante in Austrian domestic affairs, William II. Yet, weighty and extenuating circumstances are by no means lacking. Above all it should be remembered that this is only the draft of a letter, not the lost letter itself. This draft may have merely given vent to the agonized feelings of an heir who—as he saw it—was

²⁵ Francis Kossuth, a rather mild "revolutionary," was minister of commerce in the Wekerle cabinet. The very fact that a member of the '49 party, and the son of Louis Kossuth at that, was represented in this cabinet made it not a Wekerle-Kossuth but a Kossuth-Wekerle cabinet to the archduke.

condemned as a mere bystander to watch the gradual disintegration of Austria without a chance to act in accordance with his strong feelings on the issue. In partial defense of the archduke's opinions—not of his language—it should be held further that the uncompromising attitude of the Magyar aristocracy and gentry in regard to the national problem indeed contributed greatly to the crisis in the Austro-Hungarian empire. It should also be noted that this intemperate outburst is in a way counterbalanced by the archduke's serious and thorough study of the Habsburg monarchy's national problems. While the outcome of his long-prepared reform plans can be evaluated only on the basis of an interpretation of the *Nachlass* as a whole, this much may be said here: Widely as opinions may differ as to the import of the archduke's determined but by no means always consistent reform plans, there can be few willing to endorse the means, often all too violent, which he considered using to gain his objectives.²⁶

Yet though one may make allowance for the archduke's irritation which while not justified was at times certainly understandable, though one may take into account that he had to "sell" the kaiser the idea of an antidualistic empire reform without German interference, the content of this draft is amazing, to say the least. How could a man of the archduke's relatively intimate knowledge of Austro-Hungarian nationality problems seriously maintain that a few years prior to the writing of this document the problem of political Slav nationalism in the monarchy simply did not exist? Surely the archduke's attitude as revealed here shows chiefly the highly emotional traits in his character and not his intellectual abilities.

After this interlude the correspondence reverts to problems of foreign policy as they stood immediately after the end of the Bosnian crisis, i.e., after Serbia, following a German *démarche* in St. Petersburg, had yielded to Austria on March 31, 1909. The undated pencil draft of a letter by the archduke probably refers to this situation:²⁷

²⁶ For some of the thus far published literature on the archduke's empire reform plans, which of course do not include the interpretation of the rich sources available in the *Nachlass*, see Chlumecky, *Erzherzog Franz Ferdinands Wirken und Wollen*, pp. 163–313; Sosnosky, *Franz Ferdinand*, pp. 66–105; Muret, *L'archiduc François-Ferdinand*, pp. 211–29; Robert A. Kann, *The Multinational Empire* (New York, 1950), II: *Empire Reform*, pp. 187–97; and above all Georg Franz, *Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand und die Pläne zur Reform der Habsburger Monarchie* (Brünn, 1943), particularly the well-documented analysis, pp. 77–82, of the archduke's approach to the Trialistic idea, which deviates in many ways from the sentiments expressed in this letter.

²⁷ This draft fits the situation right after March 31, 1909, and conceivably the following letter of the emperor of April 9, 1909, may be the answer to it. While this latter fact cannot be proved, there is no doubt that the archduke's letter refers to the solution of the Bosnian crisis. See *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik*, II, 1069–1447; *Grosse Politik*, XXVI/2, 9435–9508; Molden, *Alois Graf Aehrenthal*, pp. 99–110.

YOUR MAJESTY

Most venerable cousin! [After expressing warm thanks for the emperor's diplomatic support in the crisis Francis Ferdinand continues:] . . . Aehrenthal, I believe, has done his job very well. My Conrad gave me very valuable support in all war preparations.

In your warm sympathy you will understand how comforting it was to me after all the sad political events we have had to face in the monarchy recently, that all the military measures went through very smoothly. The same patriotic enthusiasm manifested itself in all lands and provinces. Indeed, with most military contingents more reserves than those actually called up wanted to join. When suddenly after Serbia's last impertinent note 30,000 men were put into motion within a few hours, everything ran excellently. . . .²⁸

William II writes from Potsdam on April 9, 1909, probably in answer to this letter and immediately after the "happy solution" of the crisis.²⁹ The letter is in his most typical braggadocio style:

MY DEAR FRANZI!

Yesterday I received your dear letter and I hasten to thank you for it with all my heart. . . . The results, even though they were not settled by means of bayonets, must be valued very highly. It was a real privilege for me to be a good second for you [Austrians] and . . . by loyalty to our alliance to prove to the world *ad oculos* that if the two imperial powers stand together Europe must listen to them. The secret of this bloc is the granite foundation of their national armies! The two best armies of the world arm in arm, resolved not to take anything from anybody and to get attention and respect for the interests of their countries—this is a fact which all other diplomats and states must put up with whether they like it or not. As the Pappenheim cuirassier says in *Wallensteins Lager*: "*Warum können wir ihrer lachen? Weil wir einen grossen Haufen ausmachen.*" So may it remain forever! Then Europe will keep quiet! During these weeks the advantage of the alliance has been clearly demonstrated to both peoples. The praise and the attitude expressed by everyone of the national groups of your country have given me as much satisfaction as in particular your own warm unqualified emphasis [of this praise] has touched me deeply. Certainly I can well imagine that viewed from the technically military standpoint, Conrad, you, and the whole army had hoped to come under fire and that the outcome should have been a different one for the sake of the lieutenant. On the other hand, you made a wonderful test as to the situation in case of war [*Ernstfall*] to see whether everything would click. It *came off* brilliantly! Everybody, irrespective of nationality, had hastened to the colors and the prompt and precise functioning of the whole military mechanism means a great success for your general staff, for your ministry of war and for the whole army. You Austrians have demonstrated what you can do as allies and you rate high. So high that the prospective enemies abandoned any plans of a counter proof! Cheers! I congratulate you most warmly! What I once told my gentlemen has been confirmed: If the emperor of Austria mounts his horse, all his peoples follow him!!!³⁰ Deputy Kramář,³¹

²⁸ Regarding these military preparations, see Conrad, I, 153–63.

²⁹ For the diplomatic background of this letter, see note 27 above.

³⁰ Actually a famous saying of Bismarck.

³¹ Young Czech leader in the Austrian parliament.

who would like to sweep the Germans from the earth, said once: The Austro-German alliance is an old worn-out piano on which nobody can play a tune. I beg his pardon, the gentleman was wrong! The facts have given him the lie. The piano is in good order and has two wonderful tunes which never miss their effect ready to be played: the Radetzky march and the York advance march!

Aehrenthal has done a wonderful job and has, above all, shown unsurpassed patience which has been much appreciated everywhere. In addition he has kept us informed on everything most amiably and frankly. It has been a genuine pleasure to work with him. He is a true statesman of great stature who has directed his country from domestic trifles to great external objectives, an invaluable art. May God preserve him for you! . . .

With the most cordial compliments to your consort and blessings for the beautiful holy Easter which can be celebrated in peace and without bloodshed.

Your faithful friend and cousin

WILLIAM

In spite of the boastful language and the unwarranted conclusions drawn from the alleged weakness of the Entente—a true *avis* to appeasers in general—this letter is written not without diplomatic skill in that the emperor gives high praise to the Austrian minister of foreign affairs, Baron Aehrenthal, who though strongly opposed by the champion of the war party, the chief of staff General von Conrad, favored a peaceful solution of the annexation crisis. After official Germany had with some hesitation backed Austria's rather adventurous course in the annexation crisis, she was anxious to have the counsel of Aehrenthal rather than of Conrad prevail in the Danube monarchy's further course. And since Conrad was known as the archduke's man of confidence while Aehrenthal was thoroughly disliked by him for his alleged anti-Russian, pro-Italian, and above all pro-Magyar policy, the politely camouflaged warning in the emperor's letter is clear.³² As so often in the kaiser's letters and oral utterances a basic underlying peaceful theme is obscured by the beating of martial drums. Obviously Francis Ferdinand understood this warning—all the more so since he himself was basically an opponent of an aggressive Balkan policy and in this particular crisis, as in several other foreign policy crises, definitely on the cautious side.

The following letter written on board the emperor's yacht *Hohenzollern* at Kiel, July 9, 1909, deals again exclusively with German affairs:

MY DEAR FRANZI!

I take the liberty to lay the enclosed new "Nauticus"³³ of this year at your feet. For the first time it contains figures about our new "Nassau" type and a

³² On Francis Ferdinand's relations to Aehrenthal see, instead of many other references, only the following, primarily based on first-hand evidence: Chlumecky, *Erzherzog Ferdinands Wirken und Wollen*, pp. 38, 82, 93–117, 249–50, 253–56, 324–26. Czernin, *Im Weltkrieg*, pp. 52, 53; Sosnosky, *Franz Ferdinand*, pp. 126, 127.

³³ The German annual naval handbook.

statement regarding the building development with a correction of the English lies.³⁴ The meeting in the Schären was very animated and pleasant.³⁵ I believe that I . . . succeeded in correcting and rectifying many grave misunderstandings and erroneous opinions about Austria's policy. I am staying here and waiting to see what that confounded parliament will do after Center, Poles, and Conservatives have given themselves the pleasure of suddenly overthrowing Bülow!³⁶ A nice gang of rascals! I am afraid my vacation will be greatly shortened by those scoundrels' trick! Looking for replacement will be difficult. . . .

This letter is indeed highly characteristic of William II. It was generally known that Bülow had been in general disfavor with the emperor since November, 1908, as he saw it, since the chancellor's weak defense or even "betrayal" of the crown in the *Daily Mail* affair. Thus Bülow's final resignation was practically a fact already decided upon and highly pleasing to the emperor.³⁷ Yet here the emperor turns against the Reichstag. He obviously considers the replacing of a chancellor, however objectionable to him, as an exclusive imperial right and the Reichstag's action as trespassing upon his authority. His true feeling in the matter becomes even clearer in the following letter of August 13, 1909, written at the castle of Wilhelmshöhe near Homburg.

MY DEAR FRANZI!

. . . I am very pleased that your visit in Rumania was so successful and that it fully satisfied you.³⁸ The king is a noble and just character. He has done much to raise and to consolidate the standards of his people. He is a valuable ally on the eternally unruly Balkans, since he is a thorough expert on the conditions there and handles them quietly, clearly, and with a judgment clarified by experience. When one compares Cowes and Cherbourg with Reval one sees that Mr. Izvolski was obliged to pour much water in his wine and that the Entente's cooking from beyond the sea has led to nothing.³⁹ It needed only the renewed getting together of Austria and us to stop the whole business. The dear friends who had been "Entente-happy" [*Ententen seelig*] and posed as the masters of Europe were sobered up and preferred not to risk the extreme consequences such as the one among them who would have been the only one to profit in the whole brawl had wished so ardently!⁴⁰ *Facit*, a pretty bad hangover and Austria *too* builds "dread-noughts"! Apparently an entirely unexpected and very sad outcome for those "over there"! Yet, even in the future we shall have to watch Izvolski closely; he remains Aehrenthal's raging enemy and hates us as well. The essay in the

³⁴ Obviously referring to allegedly exaggerated British opinions regarding the German naval building program.

³⁵ Meeting with Tsar Nicholas on July 17 off the Finnish coast near Frederickshaven.

³⁶ On June 24, 1909, the bill asking for a leveling of death duties was rejected by the Reichstag by a vote of 195 to 187.

³⁷ See Bülow, *Memoirs*, III, 375-597.

³⁸ See note 23 above.

³⁹ Reference to the *entrevue* at Reval, July, 1908, between Tsar Nicholas and Edward VII, and the *entrevues* at Cowes and Cherbourg in the summer of 1909 between the tsar and King Edward, respectively, with President Fallières of France.

⁴⁰ Evidently the emperor refers here to Great Britain.

Österreichische Rundschau by Dr. v. Peez "England und der Kontinent" is excellent.⁴¹ Aehrenthal's arguments concerning Crete directed recently to my representative were first rate and correspond completely with my own views.⁴² The four protective cooks have spoiled the broth; it boils over and now we two should help to put out the fire. Nothing doing!⁴³ They have made fools of themselves, now they may see by themselves how they get out of it.

I thank you most heartily for your sympathy regarding last month's events.⁴⁴ All his eloquence, all his cunning and diplomacy have not helped Bülow. He sowed wind and has reaped a whirlwind! He has betrayed his master and the crown, he has deceived the people and for that they have chased him away and have turned back to their emperor against whom they had acted so ungratefully and to whom they had done such grievous wrong. . . .⁴⁵

As to foreign politics this letter confirms well-established imperial views, a pro-Rumanian Balkan policy trusting largely to the two eyes of the Hohenzollern King Carol, then a pro-Greek attitude toward the Crete question, which upon the advice of German diplomats had been watered down to a more cautious policy.

As to domestic questions William II reveals again in a startling way the unbalanced character of a personality deeply imbued with the spirit of divine right. While in the letter of July 9 he perceived the Reichstag's action against Bülow as the attacks of a "gang of rascals" and a "trick of scoundrels" against imperial rights, he has rationalized it meanwhile and perceives this action now as expressing the will of a penitent people who deeply regrets its ingratitude to the imperial father and lovingly returns to his fold.

In a letter dated Neudeck, November 25, 1909, the emperor returns to the questions of Oriental policy:

. . . It was very valuable to me to perceive from Aehrenthal's communication to us that my opinions regarding your relations to Turkey were confirmed so quickly. The overtures of the Turkish ambassador in Berlin, Osman Nisami, to Aehrenthal were welcome. They deserve to be met with trust and honesty.⁴⁶ The Turks look into a future in which they suspect dangers to their possessions and their security. Naturally and rationally they want to join the Central Powers. Purely secret military agreements from general staff to general staff might meet the situation best. It is not necessary to put the diplomats into motion. They are always indiscreet. Then the minister can always pretend he knew nothing about

⁴¹ See *Österreichische Rundschau*, XX (1909), 133-47. The article in question deals with the unfriendly attitude of Great Britain toward Austria in the annexation crisis and, in general, with alleged English imperialist designs on a politically divided continent.

⁴² See *Grosse Politik*, XXVII/2, 9601-46.

⁴³ The four powers who, in July, 1909, had withdrawn their forces from Crete: France, Italy, Great Britain, and Russia.

⁴⁴ The resignation of Bülow.

⁴⁵ See note 37 above.

⁴⁶ Nisami had recommended an entente between Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Rumania. See *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik*, II, 1811, 1834.

it. The presence of General von der Goltz is a guarantee for safety and eases the situation.⁴⁷

The emperor here again follows an established pattern. He wishes for a kind of German sponsorship of Turkish foreign affairs and an expansive German Oriental policy in the Middle East in general, not to be disturbed by strained Austrian-Turkish relations. Such strain, however, was the natural corollary of the Bosnian crisis.

William II's next letter from Potsdam, December 14, 1909, is more impromptu:

MY DEAR FRANZI!

... Since we talked and corresponded last I have collected thorough information. In particular, I have strictly checked on everything I had been able to tell you. To my satisfaction, in all important matters my conjectures and views were confirmed. Racconigi was a clear personal act of vengeance of Izvolski against Aehrenthal. In the beginning the tsar was strongly opposed to it. It appears that the *Balkanbund* was discussed, and certainly also the support of the *Balkan Slavs* at the expense of the other races (Germans, Magyars and Turks); all this with the warm, benevolent, advisory participation of England which works for it [support of the *Balkan Slavs*] with particular zeal in Belgrade and Sofia.⁴⁸ The last speeches of the Czechs which, via Kramář,⁴⁹ are commanded and directed from St. Petersburg have left no doubt about the aims of the "Slav Union." There Sir A. Nicolson (the British ambassador) is at present the absolute ruler. He has Izvolski completely in his pocket. The objective of Kokorzoŭ's⁵⁰ trip to Harbin was an entente with Ito⁵¹ and Japan to "pacify" the East! For the moment this miscarried because of Ito's death but the Russians say quite frankly: "We are not strong enough for a two front war, therefore we want to liquidate affairs in the *East* to be in a better position to deal with the Balkans and the '*rotten West*.'" They abandon their great historic mission in Asia in order to act against Europe! This is a full confirmation of what I told you and what you first did not want to believe: When the yellow peril or wave comes rolling along, the Slavs will not—as their duty and position would demand it—defend European culture against the East. Under the pretense of fighting against Pan Germanism they will coalesce with the yellow race against us. . . . [They apparently will be joined further by the decaying Romanic race.] This is the naked truth, *facta loquntur*! Thus let's commit the Moslems now and draw them close to your side! Finally England—who has her fingers in all these pies—is busy with her own affairs. There things look nice

⁴⁷ This refers to the selection of Goltz as military adviser in the reorganization of the Turkish army. See *Grosse Politik*, XXVII/2, 9798–9803.

⁴⁸ On the *entrevue* at Racconigi near Turin between King Victor Emanuel III and the tsar in October, 1909, on Italian-Russian co-operation in Balkan affairs and on their respective interests in the questions of Tripoli-Cyrenaica and the Straits, see *Grosse Politik*, XXVII/2, 9877–81, and *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik*, II, 1811, 1833. See also Sidney B. Fay, *The Origins of the World War* (New York, 1938), pp. 406–13. Obviously the secret agreement of Racconigi violated—to say the least—the spirit of the Triple Alliance.

⁴⁹ See note 31 above. The emperor means obviously that this campaign was channeled into Austria through deputy Kramář.

⁵⁰ Then Russian minister of finance.

⁵¹ Retired Japanese prime minister.

indeed. It is said that Lansdowne's imprudent attack was started on the direct suggestion of Edward VII and therefore now the whole world feels piqued by him.⁵² How it will end nobody knows! Probably small majorities, repeatedly changing cabinets and the Irish and Labor tipping the scales. Our chancellor made a good start.⁵³ He has contributed much to quieting things down at home and abroad. . . . Please treat these lines *very confidentially*.

Far Eastern affairs for a while now remain in the foreground of the emperor's unruly mind as is shown again by the following letter from Berlin, January 30, 1910:

MY DEAR FRANZI!

Your dear letter has touched me deeply. It conveyed to me the renewed evidence of your so extremely valuable friendship. The prayers which you sent to heaven for my unworthy person will strengthen me. It is the best service of friendship and its most beautiful gift if one prays for the other! . . .

After this display of the usual somewhat ostentatious imperial piety, a feature perhaps not necessarily pleasing to the deeply religious archduke, William II claims that the true co-operation of the two Central Powers has preserved European peace in 1909 and continues by pointing without undue modesty to his habitual, amazing political foresight.

. . . The development in the Orient runs exactly the course that I have sketched for you. Russia yields to Japan, she wants to "liquidate," as this is being called now, for the purpose of scheming in the Balkans. Japan continues to arm in order to swallow the Amur provinces and Vladivostok, some day. America has adopted the cause of the poor Chinese and begins to inaugurate the interests of the white race in opening up China by means of a railroad-building policy. I support this. The repercussions which this move had in London, Tokyo, and Petersburg and the partly very piqued recriminations would make a good topic for a comedy.⁵⁴ It is good indeed that America took over the leadership energetically. The other white ones will put up with it. England seems to have enough problems of her own at this time. Herr v. Peez has just published two grand articles on her [Great Britain] in the *Kreuzzeitung*. In Athens I consider the dynasty as lost. I only hope the Turks will keep quiet. . . .⁵⁵

As in the case of Greece the emperor does not refer at all to his previous wrong predictions but continues his lectures on Far Eastern affairs in regard

⁵² Henry Charles, marquis of Lansdowne, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1900-1905, Unionist leader in the House of Lords.

⁵³ Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, the successor to Bülow.

⁵⁴ For an understanding of the background history of German-United States relations in Far Eastern affairs in regard to this and the following letter, see Alfred Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik* (2 vols.; New York, 1935), particularly II, 939-1256.

⁵⁵ This refers apparently to the move by the Greek Military League, an officers' association, to force a constitutional revision.

to which Austria and Francis Ferdinand play the modest role of mere bystanders.

He writes thus on February 9, 1910, from Berlin:

MY DEAR FRANZI!

. . . The action to blast us asunder has not yet ceased and is being continued according to plans. Paris, Petersburg (?) and London have their hands in it. . . .

In the Far East the situation looks amusing.⁵⁶ According to reconnaissance along the Manchurian railway and in Korea, large Japanese military hospitals and munition depots are being built everywhere. Siege artillery against Vladivostok has been assembled already on the Continent . . . in northern Korea. The American proposal to internationalize this railway as well as the eastern Chinese (Russian) railway has been rejected by Russia and Japan since either of them would like to have Manchuria for herself. Therefore they now pretend to the common interests of concerned parties. Naturally the Japanese will push out the Russians in the long run and finally they will swallow northern Manchuria too. Anyhow, the Russians declare *urbi et orbi* that they want to liquidate in the East. Then it will be Vladivostok's turn. If it falls its fall will be the first body blow of the Asiatic people against the European gate, then the "yellow peril" will actually materialize. It is generally being assumed here that this situation will be clarified and decided by 1915. In that year the Panama Canal will be ready. It will permit America to concentrate her whole navy in the Pacific. *Then* the Japanese—if they then still have designs upon the ocean—will have to fight for its possession against the Americans, this is the American calculation. If it comes to that the Americans will need the German navy to protect their rear in Europe—together with the Atlantic American forces—in case England should play the ally of Japan—which after all is unlikely.⁵⁷ Therefore the Americans rejected *a limine* England's offer last year . . . to line up with them against us. The resulting possible combination (America-Germany) gradually begins to dawn on John Bull, explaining partly his fear of us and his nervousness!

The railway project in China has received a kick but Uncle Sam won't relax, and what he did up to now was good insofar as Russia and Japan had to make a clean breast [of their intentions], they were forced to show their hand!⁵⁸ A parallel railroad, Tzikikar-Aigun has now been proposed. Russia has rejected it, Japan has accepted it in principle! Tableau! In Athens there is no king anymore, only a helpless cowardly milksop who has betrayed his dynasty. . . .

Obviously and naturally William II is less well informed on Far Eastern than on European affairs. His dramatic conjectures as to the nature and consequences of the "yellow peril" present the typical imperial concoction of emotional oversimplifications, hasty and unsubstantiated conclusions, and

⁵⁶ See *Grosse Politik*, XXXII, 11603-701.

⁵⁷ To avoid any distortion of the emperor's thought and manner of writing, it is necessary to translate this vaguely and incorrectly worded passage literally. The scheme itself, though not clearer than its sloppy formulation and not considered likely to materialize even by the emperor, is evident, however: the possibility of a war in which a German-American coalition would have to face a British-Japanese combination.

⁵⁸ The passage "they were forced to show their hand" is English in the original.

sporadic and partial flashes of true insight into the course of history. Yet here as anywhere else the emperor's vacillating long-range views are in their peculiar way of reasoning more often right than wrong.

When William II is wrong, his errors are of course partly due to contradictory diplomatic reports, deficient quite frequently in their judgment, more rarely in their facts. When he is right, partial credit should go likewise to the—on the whole underestimated—German diplomatic corps though the emperor's quick intelligence should not be underrated. Yet three factors in the evaluation of William II's views on foreign policy must never be overlooked. First the narrow angle of the divine right perspective of a sovereign who in his daydreams still remained an absolute ruler; second the fact that his alert and unstable imagination always was unduly impressed by the last intelligence just submitted to him. Thus he was inclined to build on a slender basis inordinate long-range conclusions. Third, and this holds true in the broadest terms, historical prediction based even on the flimsiest ground very often has a fifty-fifty chance of coming true. Thus evaluation of true historical perception in the understanding of foreign policy should properly rest much less on the correctness of the prediction than on the soundness of reasoning, almost irrespective of the question whether the prediction will come true. Undoubtedly as to this last point the emperor's "vision" rests on the weakest grounds. All these facts should be remembered in the evaluation of William II's correspondence.

For the rest of the year 1910, the *Nachlass* contains only a brief pencil draft of a letter from the archduke to the emperor in which he thanks him for reviewing an Austrian parade in May of that year.

In 1912 William II returns to the basic question of the British-German naval conflict, then foremost in his mind. From Breslau, December 6, 1911, he writes:

DEAR FRANZI!

Tarouca will have transmitted to you my greetings from Donau-Eschingen where we had a lot of fun.⁵⁹ I bagged 91 foxes, among them was my five hundredth. A record too! I want to thank you again for your extremely kind opinion regarding the navy in Kiel. The navy is very proud of your praise as being that of an expert.⁶⁰ To judge by the attitude of the English during the past 6 months—Grey's⁶¹ twaddling does not change this at all—we had to count on possible tricks

⁵⁹ Count Ernest Silva-Tarouca, one of the members of the Bohemian aristocracy with whom Francis Ferdinand was on friendly terms.

⁶⁰ Actually Francis Ferdinand, though extremely interested in naval affairs, was just as little an expert in these matters as, indeed, the emperor himself. Emperor and archduke, as is generally known, shared an interest in hunting by means of large-scale battues.

⁶¹ Sir Edward Grey, later Viscount Grey of Fallodon, since 1905 British Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

of theirs and to take measures against them in the form of increased [naval] construction. Only strong power and brutal force impress these people on the other side of the channel. Politeness is considered weakness. We have the *men* for it, they [the British] are not in a position to see *that* through. . . .

After this ominous evaluation of British character the correspondence returns to factors closer to Austrian interests, the new Balkan crisis looming large on the political horizon. Thus on December 9, 1912, the emperor writes from Berlin:

DEAR FRANZI!

Tarouca and Clam⁶² will have reported to you our discussion from Donau-Eschingen. Bethmann's speech was clear and determined and has been understood correctly everywhere.⁶³ Meanwhile I received some more important information which I want to convey to you. . . .

The emperor then related a report which he had received through a German admiral from a Turkish statesman, Halil Bey, former minister of the interior and present president of parliament. According to this source,

Russia is responsible for the Balkan war. Before the war she had offered *an alliance to Turkey*, yet had raised such exorbitant demands concerning the Turco-Persian frontier territories which Turkey would have had to cede, that Turkey had rejected the alliance and these demands.

Infuriated about it, Russia had kindled the Balkan war to take her vengeance. Turkey had put great hopes on England. They failed totally. England with a cold smile surrendered Turkey to Russia and thereby forfeited all vestiges of existing sympathies there. The moment is very favorable now for Austria and Germany. It might be hoped that both would take thorough advantage of the situation in Turkey. The chances seem good. *Avis au lecteur!* We have to forge the iron while it is hot!

Apart from this, the ambassador reported to me yesterday from London that Haldane had visited him, apparently in place of and on behalf of Sir Edward Grey, for whom it was embarrassing to transact the matter himself. He told the ambassador that if Germany through her siding with Austria should become involved in a war with France and Russia, England without further ado would join France. She [England] *could not tolerate* that we defeat France and that the *continent* should be *united* under Germany's influence. This would be unacceptable to England.⁶⁴ This was in winter when England's peace dove was here⁶⁵ with the offer of the *neutrality clause* in case of a European war. Now it sounds different but not English! Full of poison, hatred, and envy of the good development of both our alliance and our countries! I was not taken by surprise and the necessary pre-

⁶² Count Heinrich Clam-Martinic, Austrian prime minister 1916-17, another of the arch-duke's aristocratic intimates from Bohemia.

⁶³ On Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg's *Reichstag* speech of December 2, 1912, see *Grosse Politik*, XXXIII, 2475A; *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik*, V, 4770.

⁶⁴ The warning of Lord Haldane, British Secretary for War, excited the emperor greatly, not without reason. See *Grosse Politik*, XXXIII, 12489; XXXIX, 15612, 15613.

⁶⁵ The famous "Haldane mission" to Berlin of February, 1912.

parations are being made. It was a welcome clarification which reduces the British newspapers' soothing assurances about peace and friendship to their proper scale. It clearly reveals their policy in Europe—balance of power—in its naked shamelessness, playing the Great Powers against each other to the advantage of England.

The first part of this letter, dealing with the question of close relations with Turkey, as pointed out above, deals with one of William II's favorite and, from his point of view, not unsound theories. The second question broached here, the English warning, raises the question, repeatedly asked by historians, how Germany, in 1914, could have so terribly misread the signs pointing to the probable British attitude. Certainly William II himself did not take advantage of the lesson of 1912. And yet, as the following very important letter again shows, he was neither blind nor overoptimistic as to the danger of war, particularly in regard to the East, toward which his attitude was and remained influenced by the phantom idea of possible monarchic solidarity between the three eastern empires, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia.

The situation at the time the emperor wrote the following letter (dated Berlin, February 26, 1913) was indeed critical. Operations in the Balkan war had been resumed after the termination of a truce of two months. Serbia and Montenegro were resolved to frustrate the decision of the ambassadors' conference in London to create an Albanian buffer state. Austria, this time with the unreliable help of Italy, was just as firmly resolved to block a Serbian and Montenegrin access to the Adriatic. More critical still, as a consequence of the crisis Austria and Russia had increased their contingents facing each other along the Galician border. The spreading of the Balkan war into a general European conflagration thus appeared to be all the more possible since Russia's attitude, compared to her policy in 1909, had considerably stiffened and it was further known that the Austrian chief of staff, General von Conrad, pondered again the issue of a preventive war. Under the impact of these events the following "private" imperial letter to the archduke was—at least in its outline—drafted by the German foreign office:⁶⁶

DEAR FRANZI!

... The present situation means a true calamity for the largest majority of people in Europe and environs. In particular trade and traffic, communications, credit,

⁶⁶ See *Grosse Politik*, XXXIV/1, 415, 416, where a few sentences from this draft are published. Only a truly critical situation could give the Foreign Office the opportunity to control the frequently backfiring diplomatic tool of the emperor's correspondence. The letter itself is published below for the first time in full. See also *ibid.*, 12738-932, in particular 12788, 12793, and 12905, the letters and reports of Duke Albrecht of Württemberg, brother-in-law of the archduke, the German chief of staff von Moltke, Count Kageneck, German military attaché in Vienna, on Francis Ferdinand's basic peaceful attitude during this crisis. See also *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik*, V, 5679-5969. One of the most elaborate and well-documented though certainly biased accounts of the crisis is given in Conrad, III, 18-162.

and finance not only with you [*bei Euch*], Russia, and the belligerents but with us, and all over the world begin to suffer very considerably under the intolerable tension which has been bearing so heavily on Europe for the last six months!

To lift it would be a truly epoch-making act of peace, worthy of an *energetic man* who has the *moral* courage to speak the redeeming word, even though it might not be understood right away everywhere, even though it might make him unpopular with single groups for the moment. Therefore I ask myself often whether the issues at stake here—for example the pastures for the goats of Skutari and similar things—are really important enough to justify you [*Ihr*] and Russia still facing each other half mobilized . . .!

To speak quite frankly, it is after all mainly the military measures taken by Austria-Hungary and Russia which prevent a calming down. Yet these measures cost a sinful amount of money and weigh heavily upon so many thousands of poor families who have to suffer bitter privations.

According to my very humble opinion—which I take the liberty of telling you very frankly and confidentially as your well-meaning friend—you [*Ihr*] may consider without any hesitation the gradual cancellation of the enacted measures, provided, naturally, that Russia does the same *a tempo*. Perhaps the mission of Hohenlohe has paved the way a little in this direction. Anyhow, the world believed so and one should take advantage of this.⁶⁷ It would welcome it joyfully.

In this way Austria would, first, prove to the world that she is not nervous. Secondly she would draw the sympathies of all those to her side who, affected by the long crisis, begin to get irritated and to look askance at you. A very good time for the beginning of “disarmament” would be, I think, the tercentenary of the Romanov House. This would really delight the heart of Emperor Nicholas. It would enable him to celebrate the jubilee against a friendly rather than a warlike background. After the delivery of His Majesty’s letter by Hohenlohe the effect would have been brilliant. Now the opportunity would be excellent. The effect would be grand and it would be acclaimed in the whole world with loud cheers. Now I have given vent to my feelings. I wish you, dear Franzi, would accept it kindly and graciously! . . .

The question might be raised whether, if the emperor had taken the attitude shown in this letter in July, 1914, European history might have taken a different course. Actually the very fact that Germany more than once had blown cold on Austria’s Balkan enterprise is of course one additional reason why she did not want to alienate her ally in 1914. The letter, though couched in the most polite and cordial language, is indeed the strongest intimation that then appeared feasible between allies of dissatisfaction with too active an Austrian Balkan policy. Whether psychologically the bait laid for the archduke’s vanity—to become the hero of European peace—was the right

⁶⁷ Early in February, 1913, colonel-lieutenant Prince Gottfried Hohenlohe, later Austrian ambassador to Germany, transmitted a friendly personal letter of Emperor Francis Joseph to the tsar which expressed the Austrian emperor’s wishes, couched in very vague terms, to maintain cordial relations with Russia. The reaction to the Hohenlohe mission in Russian official circles, however, was rather lukewarm. See *Grosse Politik, XXXIV/1*, 12791, 12792, 12805, 12818, also 12891; *Österreich-Ungarns Ausßenpolitik*, V, 5653, 5675, 5676, 5697–99, 5721–23, 5751, 5789; and Conrad, III, 121–25.

approach is however open to question. Under the Austrian system of imperial government the heir apparent's action would hardly have received public recognition nor, for that matter, would the emperor Francis Joseph have cared to be extolled publicly as an angel of peace. Different as the Austrian emperor and the heir apparent were in so many respects, they were alike in that neither of them was swayed by a desire for popularity in the childish sense in which William II strove for it.

Yet this is a moot question, for, at the time the letter was written and indeed during the whole crisis, the archduke, as cautious in foreign affairs as he was impetuous in domestic policy, was firmly resolved to avoid an open conflict. This fact is irrefutably proved by all available evidence, including the archduke's views on the Albanian "goat pastures."⁶⁸

William II was of course well informed about the fact that Francis Ferdinand opposed war under existing conditions, and, even more important, he knew that these views were backed by the emperor Francis Joseph, and that the Austrian minister of foreign affairs really was responsible for Francis Joseph's policy. Yet the German emperor did not know how far the then overrated influence of General von Conrad went, a fact which almost alone explains why in this somewhat ostentatiously humanitarian letter he tried to crash an open gate.

The German emperor could hardly imagine, however, that any action initiated by him might possibly have taken place without his intervention. And probably more because of this conception than because he wished to ingratiate himself with the problematic archduke he extolls the heir apparent's moderation as a personal triumph—built up, as he sees it, by himself, William II.

Thus, on February 28, from Potsdam, he answers in flourishing language—ranging from the sublime to the ridiculous, from the serious to the childish—a letter from the archduke which apparently had assured him of the obvious, namely, that Francis Ferdinand fully shared his point of view:

⁶⁸ See the references in notes 66 and 67 above, in particular Conrad's repeated complaints about the archduke's unwillingness to support any risky Balkan policy that might involve Austria in a war against imperial Russia which would destroy the concept of monarchic solidarity forever. See particularly Conrad, III, 155–59—one reference for the archduke's peaceful attitude among many—which touches directly on the above letter: "On February 27 I saw archduke Francis Ferdinand again. He read to me part of the letter from Emperor William and observed that even before receipt of the letter he had held the same view, namely, that anything had to be avoided that might lead to a war with Russia now. The archduke emphasized that the guiding principle must be co-operation between Germany, Russia, and Austria-Hungary, above all for monarchic reasons. . . ." In regard to the Albanian question the archduke, like the emperor, further asserted that it would not pay to fight a war for these "miserable goat pastures." See Conrad, *loc. cit.*

MY DEAR FRANZI!

How immensely I was pleased with your kind letter! One may say rightly in this case *Les beaux esprits se rencontrent!* Bravo my friend! You have fingered and executed this brilliantly! I am sure it was not easy and the sacrifice took effort, patience, and perseverance. But the final success compensates for all sustained injuries. You have gained immortal merits because you have saved Europe from this oppressing spell. Millions of grateful hearts will think of you in prayer. I think Emperor Nicholas will also be glad that he can send his reserves home! Everybody will breathe freely again when this happens.⁶⁹

... Tonight I go to Wilhelmshaven to the swearing in and launching of the new ship *S*, to enjoy some sea air after the winter's drawing room and dinner campaign. I am only afraid the North Sea breeze will be more severe and colder than that which will blow around you when your flag waves proudly from the top mast of the *Viribus Unitis!*⁷⁰ *Vivat regentes!* I too shall hoist my standard tomorrow for the first time on the "Kaiser." I hope the brawl in the Balkans will end soon so that I can go to Corfu, where I hope to see you. Persuade the fellows to stop! With renewed congratulations upon your noble deed I kiss your wife's hand as

Your faithful friend and cousin

More serious and informative is the last major letter of importance in this correspondence, written at Potsdam, on May 27, 1913. The occasion is a report on the emperor's discussions with the tsar and King George V, who both came to Berlin to celebrate, on May 24, the wedding of the emperor's only daughter to Prince Ernst of Cumberland, now to be duke of Brunswick. This reconciliation with the old House of Guelph, the former ruling dynasty in Hanover, the presence of the two mightiest sovereigns in the world, the splendor of the ceremonies focused on the German emperor—all this put William II in a mood of dazzled political optimism as evidenced by this letter:⁷¹

SECRET,

DEAR FRANZI!

I take advantage of Max's return⁷² to send you these lines which will inform you about the course of the *entrevue*. Viewed from the political standpoint it went off extremely pleasantly and favorably. King George V, the emperor [tsar] and I were agreed on an absolutely complete conformity regarding the affairs of the Balkan states. The following was agreed upon as a line of joint policy.

⁶⁹ On the insistence of the archduke but certainly without imperial resistance the reduction of the Austrian troops in Galicia was ordered between February 27 and 28. The matter was however in principle practically decided as early as February 15 as a consequence of the Hohenlohe mission. The Russian reductions were carried out *a tempo*. See Conrad, III, 126, 127, 155–58. The official declarations of the Austrian and Russian governments were however issued only on March 11. See *ibid.*, III, 105, 106. See also *Grosse Politik*, XXXIV, 12905, report of Kageneck.

⁷⁰ The first Austrian dreadnought, to be launched soon thereafter.

⁷¹ See also *Grosse Politik*, XXXIV, 13331.

⁷² Prince Max Egon Fürstenberg.

1. To order the intriguing, restless, and unreliable king of Bulgaria to keep quiet finally and for good and to make him see reason. With the knowledge of and in agreement with the king of England he received two strict telegrams from the emperor and myself. They cannot be misunderstood. In case of a continuation of the campaigns against Greece the emperor will hold Bulgaria responsible for all the evil consequences that may develop in the Balkans.

2. Turkey is to be reorganized and to be given a lift under all circumstances. She is to be protected from decay and partition! Reorganization of the army, the navy, police, etc., refortification of the capital, Istanbul, because of the threatening vicinity of the Bulgarian frontiers. Istanbul shall remain unconditionally Turkish and shall remain the residence of the sultan.

3. The allied Balkan states shall be prevented from fighting over partition of the spoils. Therefore in accordance with the wishes of both countries, the emperor will act as arbiter between Serbia and Bulgaria.

4. The wishes of Greece are to be upheld so that the victorious commander in chief will not be robbed of the fruits of his victory. The new ruler shall have a good start and a good position with his people.⁷³ Fears of naval stations or "bases" in the "canal" of Corfu are fantastic phantoms and not to be taken seriously. Such a "canal" does not exist and the steep rocky coast of Albania and Corfu make the construction of such a large naval harbor impossible. It would cost billions. The only suitable place for it is the roadstead of Corfu which, according to the treaty of 1863, has expressly remained a military basis.

5. In a private discussion with the tsar a casual remark of his offered me the favorable opportunity to relate to him at length and in detail the domestic political difficulties of Austria (Slav questions). In this connection I have interpreted his⁷⁴ attitude in the Balkan question. The emperor showed his fullest, and deepest understanding and—to my great pleasure—approved with commending words the attitude of Emperor Francis Joseph, fully recognizing the difficulty of his [Francis Joseph's] position.

The king of England as well as the tsar are in complete agreement with me and are firmly resolved to keep the unbridled Bulgarian desire for aggrandizement at the expense of Turkey and of other states strictly within bounds. The most favorable conditions possible for the preservation and consolidation of Turkey shall be created. Anyway, Istanbul must on no account fall into the hands of Bulgaria. In this communication, dear Franzi, you may recognize the evidence of my friendship and trust. You may see how important it is to me to keep you well informed on the future aims to be pursued in the Orient. . . .

May haste excuse the pencil.

Indeed the proverbial sardonic saying "Not a bad word during the whole wedding!" fits the rosy picture expressed in the painfully condescending tone of this letter. Obviously the festive occasion of the imperial and royal discussions precluded anything but a friendly noncommittal exchange of opinions in which Austria was left in the cold. The receipt of this letter must

⁷³ Konstantin I of Greece, king since March 18, 1913.

⁷⁴ As noted previously, William II's hastily written letters, particularly those in pencil like the one under discussion, are often sloppily drafted and therefore are ambiguous. It is clear that the "his" in this sentence does not refer to the tsar but to Emperor Francis Joseph, who is mentioned in the following.

have caused the archduke a great deal of justified irritation. The emperor refers here to joint decisions in regard to Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia. He goes so far as to agree that the tsar should act as arbiter between Serbia and Bulgaria. In his happy ignorance he delivers to the tsar an unsolicited lecture about Austria's Slav problems. He haughtily informs the archduke of the future Balkan policy which the Great Powers had agreed to pursue. *In nuce* he acts as if Austria had no primary interests in the Balkans, as if she had ceased to exist as a Great Power. While, as stated before, these discussions were noncommittal and their importance certainly exaggerated by William II, it needed his singular lack of tact and his psychological disability to put himself into somebody else's shoes to believe that his report could be pleasing to the proud heir apparent of a declining Great Power in a critical position.

This letter is the last of the correspondence deposited in the *Nachlass* though of course not the last in the correspondence itself.⁷⁵ There follow merely two postcards in pencil, one from the imperial hunting box in Rominten, of October 10, 1913, in which the emperor expresses his satisfaction that Conrad will remain Austrian chief of staff.

... I am pleased that Conrad stays in office. I have seen him frequently at maneuvers and have learned to appreciate him very much. He is a splendid character; they are rare nowadays.⁷⁶

The high rating which Conrad's military qualifications received on the part of his German military colleagues explains why the emperor was in all probability sincerely pleased with the continuation of the Austrian chief of staff's service, even though Conrad's political views ran often, in 1914, tragically counter to those of true German interests.

The last communication contained in this correspondence, a card written by the emperor on April 6, 1914, from the Achilleion in Corfu deals with the massacres of Greeks of Albanian origin in Albania.

For the reasons given in the beginning of this article it will not be attempted here to draw far-reaching conclusions from the contents of these letters. William II's character, his actions, and their consequences for our

⁷⁵ For references to further letters, see *Grosse Politik*, XXXIX, 15709-11.

⁷⁶ In the maneuvers in Bohemia on September 14, 1913, Conrad was sharply reprimanded by the archduke because he had failed to attend Sunday service, much as Francis Ferdinand otherwise valued the general's qualifications. This incident, while in keeping with the archduke's religious feelings, was only the last result of his mounting dissatisfaction with Conrad's insistence on an aggressive military policy. On September 18 Conrad offered his resignation. But the archduke, convinced of his supposedly unique military ability, prevailed on him by a letter of September 23 to remain in office. See Conrad, III, 433-42.

generation are firmly established in history. His flashes of political insight hidden by conceit, vivid imagination obscured by psychological tactlessness, quick intelligence vitiated by superficiality, partially good intentions destroyed by blind egotism, have been revealed and confirmed in this correspondence. The ambivalent attitude toward English-German relations, irrational over-evaluation of monarchic solidarity with Russia, unreasonable trust in Italian and Rumanian support, ignorance of the effect of the forces of nationalism in Austria-Hungary and in the Orient as well as in a wider and deeper sense of the basic social and psychological forces of history in general are the result.

As to the archduke, the junior partner in this one-sided correspondence, the preliminary statement should be re-emphasized. A reinterpretation of his personality in history will be attempted as soon as the bulk of his huge *Nachlass* has been analyzed in full. It can be stated on the strength of an over-all examination of these documents that such a reinterpretation will be a well-warranted, promising, and feasible task.

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Impressment in the Monroe-Pinkney Negotiation, 1806-1807

ANTHONY STEEL

I HAVE suggested in an earlier article on the subject¹ that the impressment of binational seamen by the British during the Napoleonic war has often been given by historians an importance it does not deserve. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that it has been given the wrong sort of importance: it has been treated as a sentimental issue between the two countries of immense contemporary significance, whereas it might be better to regard it as an effective bargaining counter whose exact weight at any given moment did not depend so much upon the feelings of the American people as on the exigencies of American diplomacy. This is not to say that there was no genuine feeling at all upon the subject. Obviously in the minds of many Americans the British practice was wholeheartedly resented and condemned; but this condemnation was by no means universal, except during the second half of 1807 when, following the attack made by the *Leopard* on the *Chesapeake*, a genuinely national explosion of anti-British feeling all but carried the administration considerably further than it really wanted to go. Before June 22 of that year, in other words, the American people had not always felt strongly enough about impressment to justify the State Department's policy, but after June 22 for a matter of four or five months their strength of feeling embarrassed their own government.

No one would dispute the latter half of this statement: it is the first half which is contentious. In particular it seems to raise a difficulty about the more usually accepted version of the breakdown in an attempted Anglo-American rapprochement which occurred when the Monroe-Pinkney negotiations of 1806 failed conclusively in 1807. Why did those negotiations fail? Surely because the American commissioners agreed, under pressure, to omit all reference to impressment? As a matter of fact this was not the sole reason for the breakdown, though it may have been a major reason. But why was the pressure applied, and why did Pinkney and Monroe eventually submit to it? The British commissioners, Lord Auckland and Lord Holland, were warmly

¹ Anthony Steel, "Anthony Merry and the Anglo-American Dispute about Impressment, 1803-6," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, IX, No. 3 (1949), 331-51.

American in sympathy, and the Whig-Grenvillite Ministry of All the Talents shared their feelings. On the American side neither Pinkney nor Monroe could be described as weak or stupid or unpatriotic, though Pinkney was fresher from America and perceptibly the stronger diplomat. If these four came to the conclusion which they did it is worth considering whether they might not have done so because, when stripped of all irrelevant considerations, the practice of impressment was found to be a vital British interest—at any rate in wartime—that is, an essential weapon genuinely directed at the French and not at injuring America. It may also be argued that impressment did not seriously encroach in practice on the main American vital interest of that date, which consisted of the maximum liberty of trade for American merchantmen: indeed from the American merchant's point of view some real modification—such as the treaty offered—of the recent British refusal to recognize the “broken voyage” was of much more importance than the absolute surrender of impressment. It was true that any such advantages were seriously affected by the last-minute reaction of His Majesty's Government to the news of the Berlin Decree, and the humiliating and unilaterally decided British postscript on that subject was at least a main factor in persuading Jefferson not to break off the negotiation—it was Canning who did that—but to send the treaty back to London for radical revision. It was however a sign of weakness rather than of strength when Jefferson refused to send the treaty to the Senate. It implied that the administration thought there was a dangerous chance of its acceptance there, even with the offending postscript. How much more then must the administration have thought it likely of acceptance if the sole ground of offense had been the absence of all mention of impressment? In other words it is probable that Pinkney and Monroe had not misjudged the temper of the Senate and people of the United States: what they had misjudged was the temper, policy, and prejudices of the President and his Secretary of State. It is of interest to see how far these theories can be borne out by contemporary evidence.

The traditional view, based on overwhelmingly American sources, can be found in J. F. Zimmerman's *Impressment of American Seamen* (pp. 116–34); in Henry Adams' classic *History of the United States under the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison*; and in several, though by no means all, modern textbooks of American diplomatic history.² It consists, briefly, of the theory that the question of impressment was *not* a British vital interest

² A notable exception is Alfred L. Burt's *The United States, Great Britain and British North America* (New Haven, 1940), esp. pp. 234–37, where the British case is presented with great force and clarity, together with the case for Pinkney and Monroe.

but *was* an American one; that impressment was employed with the deliberate purpose of humiliating the United States flag and injuring her mercantile marine; that it did have both these effects; and that its immediate abolition, both in principle and practice, was the main object of the Monroe-Pinkney mission. The failure of the mission to secure that object is commonly attributed to the weakness of the American commissioners in face of the deliberate refusal of the British even to discuss the question; while finally the equally uncompromising attitude of Jefferson and Madison is approved of and even exaggerated: it is also generally assumed that that attitude was an accurate reflection of American national feeling even in the first half of 1807.

This of course was the contemporary administration's view, and since the sources used in elaborating the theory are principally drawn from *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, it is not surprising that it has a Jeffersonian—more precisely, a Madisonian—flavor. An examination of the British sources in the London Public Record Office, on the other hand,³ not unnaturally produces quite a different impression. In these days of the eclipse of liberalism it is no longer fashionable to say that the truth lies in the middle, but if the early Evangelical preacher Charles Simeon is to be believed neither does it lie in one extreme, but in both extremes. The American "extreme" we have already in many publications; it is therefore the object of this article to set alongside it the lesser-known British "extreme."

The first mention of the celebrated mission in the British papers occurs upon April 20, 1806, when the British minister at Washington, Anthony Merry, informed Fox that William Pinkney had been nominated envoy extraordinary to St. James's and would ultimately, in Merry's opinion, succeed Monroe as minister⁴—a forecast which was in due course fulfilled. Three days later Madison officially informed Monroe of Pinkney's appointment, though the instructions to the two commissioners—which incidentally made the abolition of impressment a clear *sine qua non*—were not signed until May 17, while Pinkney did not arrive in London until June 24, 1806.⁵ By that time Fox, the British Foreign Secretary, was seriously ill, and Lords Holland and Auckland⁶ had to be appointed commissioners to negotiate the expected treaty in his place. All this caused considerable delay.

³ See esp. the MS. volumes, F.O. 5/51, 52, and 54.

⁴ Merry No. 20 to Fox, Apr. 20, 1806, F.O. 5/48.

⁵ James F. Zimmerman, *Impressment of American Seamen* (New York, 1925), pp. 117-18. Madison's instructions can also be found in *Annals of Congress*, 10 Congress, II, 2452.

⁶ Holland, Fox's nephew, was of course a Whig and, as is well known, could be described as *Fox et praeterea nihil*—the mere mouthpiece and trainee of Fox. Auckland—a much older man—had been a Pittite in his youth, but had followed Grenville in his revolt against Pitt, and was now

The first serious meeting of the four commissioners took place on August 27:⁷ it was reported to Madison on September 11.⁸ The Americans duly followed their instructions by immediately demanding the abandonment of impressment not only on the high seas but in port as well: they offered in return an undertaking to protect the interests of unquestionably British seamen found under American jurisdiction and to restore them to the British authorities, always provided that such action were reciprocated. They also outlined their second main demand, namely, the recognition of the "broken voyage," or in effect a reversal of the famous *Essex* decision.⁹ The question of impressment when in port does not seem to have been taken very seriously; for since November, 1804, the British had abandoned all impressment, even from their own ships, within American waters,¹⁰ while the Americans never seriously contested the British right of impressment in British ports. Impressment in the ports of other neutral countries was still an open question and in spite of British denials¹¹ did occasionally take place, but although the Americans objected to the principle I have not been able to find any specific complaint made in practice before news of an incident which took place in the Whang-Po River near Canton in July, 1807, reached America toward the end of that year¹²—and it might not have been made then but for the still smoldering resentment over the attack upon the *Chesapeake*.

At any rate when Lord Holland informally reported progress to the First Lord of the Treasury, Lord Grenville, upon September 6 he said nothing about ports: "the main points are the not pressing seamen on the high seas and the question of a continuous or interrupted voyage." He added, very significantly, that "unless they" (i.e., Monroe and Pinkney) "misrepresent things in America, they would willingly yield a point on the latter to obtain anything from us on the former."¹³ This addition shows that at the outset of the negotiations the Americans were not only following their instructions but had made the British understand them: it will be the more interesting to see at what stage, and why, the relative importance of their two main

as much the mouthpiece of the phil-American Grenvillites as Holland was the mouthpiece of the still more phil-American Whigs.

⁷ "Greenwich Hospital Misc. Var.," 117—minutes of the meeting. See also minutes for Sept. 22, Oct. 23, Oct. 30, Nov. 5, and Nov. 7 in the same volume. I owe these references to Mr. C. J. B. Gaskoin. They are MS. papers to be found in the Public Record Office.

⁸ *Annals of Congress*, *loc. cit.*, p. 2485.

⁹ Steel, *op. cit.*, p. 347 and n. 51.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

¹¹ See p. 356 and n. 16 below.

¹² See the newspaper cutting enclosed in Erskine No. 29 to Canning, Dec. 2, 1807, F.O. 5/52. I hope to publish details of the Whang-Po affair, which is extremely interesting.

¹³ William Wyndham Grenville, *The Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue, Esq., Preserved at Dropmore*, Royal Historical Manuscripts Commission (10 vols., London, 1892-1927), VIII, 310.

demands came to be reversed, and the first one ultimately discarded. Meanwhile it must also be noted that the point about impressment on the high seas was *not* immediately dismissed as impracticable by the British commissioners; on the contrary, as the Americans evidently attached so much importance to it, they were prepared to give it very close attention.

This point clearly appears in the first formal progress report submitted by the British negotiators to the new Foreign Secretary, Lord Howick.¹⁴ Dated October 20, 1806, this report¹⁵ begins with a concise but accurate statement of the Americans' opening demands and then proceeds to a "summary" (but in fact somewhat lengthy) "review of the principal objects of our negotiation." The first section of this review is headed "Impressing," and was evidently considered by Lord Howick to be so important that it was communicated *in extenso* to the cabinet. That the cabinet shared his view and gave the document serious consideration is shown by the survival in its margins of certain penciled comments from the hands of Lord Howick himself, Grenville, Ellenborough, and another minister who did not append his initials. This paper is in fact of such importance in proving the essential moderation of this particular British government and its anxiety to give due weight to the American view that I propose to quote it in full. [The penciled marginal comments are in italics and inserted, in brackets, at the relevant places in the text. EDITOR.]

1. Impressing.

Our present practice is to impress British seamen on board American Ships within our own jurisdiction, and upon the high Seas; but not within the jurisdiction of the United States, or of any neutral Port.¹⁶

The American Commissioners make no objection to the continuance of this practice within the limits of our own jurisdiction, and they would probably suffer us to include within these limits the whole extent of the British Channel,¹⁷ though they would not admit such a construction of our jurisdiction to appear on the

¹⁴ The future Earl Grey of the Reform Bill. He had succeeded Fox as Foreign Secretary after the latter's death on Sept. 13, 1806.

¹⁵ Holland and Auckland to Howick, Oct. 20, 1806, F.O. 5/51.

¹⁶ This appears to be an error. See Steel, *op. cit.*, p. 341 and n. 32, for earlier instances at Malaga and Lisbon (both before 1804), while the American complaint enclosed in Erskine No. 29 to Canning, Dec. 2, 1807, *loc. cit.*, mentions Madeira as well as Canton. Lord St. Vincent, on the other hand, who usually represented the extreme Admiralty view, wrote to William Smith, United States minister at Lisbon, on May 10, 1801, that he was "extremely concerned at the outrage" alleged on the part of the *Diana* frigate, viz., boarding and impressing from American ships in the Tagus (*Letters of Lord St. Vincent*, Navy Records Society, I, 292). It is therefore probable that such practices did not represent the official policy of His Majesty's Government—but they none the less occurred.

¹⁷ This was in effect the point on which the King-Hawkesbury conversations broke down in May, 1803, (Steel, *op. cit.*, p. 334 nn. 10, 11), though it is true that the Narrow Seas, which were then the object of contention, included all the seas surrounding Britain—not merely the "British" Channel. Even so the British commissioners' optimism on this point in 1806 seems to have been excessive.

face of the Treaty. [*The attention of the Cabinet is particularly requested to this Article. H.*¹⁸]

They are also ready to adopt regulations in our favor for the recovery of our Seamen within the limits of their own jurisdiction, and to give us the full benefit of the laws which Congress has enacted for the prevention and punishment of deserters in their own Navy.

But they insist on our giving up the practice of impressing Seamen on board American Vessels on the high Seas, where they contend we have no municipal jurisdiction, and where the exercise of this power leads to acts of outrage and violence, which have raised a clamour against us throughout all America.

It must be confessed that this is a question of equal difficulty and importance. If it were admitted that our Sea faring people might transfer themselves with impunity to the American Service, our homeward bound fleets would return home manned by foreigners at the commencement of every War, and our Navy might be confined to Port for want of hands. On the other hand it is the evident Duty of the United States to protect their lawful Trade from interruption and outrage, and their citizens from being compelled to fight the battles of a foreign power.¹⁹

We cannot flatter ourselves with having devised any unexceptionable expedient which will reconcile completely the rights of the United States, as an independent Nation, with the security of Great Britain, against the loss and desertion of her Seamen; But we are of opinion, that the offer of the American Ministers to grant us the *aid* and interference of their Courts, [*How is the aid of their Courts meant to be afforded? the mode of application and means of redress should be easy and certainly defined—otherwise (?) the provisions on ys (this) head will be ilusory (sic). (not initialled)*] for the recovery of our Seamen, within the limits of their jurisdiction, ought to be accepted, with such further provisions and regulations as a more minute enquiry into the case may suggest to us: and that in return for our desisting from the practice of impressing on the high Seas, they should authorize our Ships of War to examine the Crews of their Merchantmen in search of British Seamen, with this proviso, that in case any person found on board was suspected to be a British Subject, the American Captain should have his choice either to give him up to the British Vessels, or to charge himself with the proofs, in some competent mode to be adjusted by treaty, that the person was *not* a British Subject [*The American Laws give a right of Citizenship to British Subjects taking the oaths of allegiance or more properly of naturalization in America. So that the same person may be an American in America, and a British Subject here. Grenv.*²⁰]; and such a penalty might be annexed to his failing in his proof,

¹⁸ Probably Howick, not Holland.

¹⁹ This paragraph not only puts the two cases in a nutshell but does conspicuous justice to that of the Americans.

²⁰ This minute, obviously by Grenville, hits the nail on the head. Nearly all the seamen in dispute were in fact binational according to modern ideas, but the British at that date clung to the theory of "indefeasibility" (Steel, *op. cit.*, p. 331 and n. 1). Both believed, in effect, that any other nationality could be expunged by the assumption of their own, but that their own nationality, once acquired, was indefeasible. See a very curious incident at Dartmouth (Eng.), referred to in a letter from the Admiralty to the Foreign Office, Jan. 27, 1807 (F.O. 5/55—sequels, July 7 and Sept. 9 in same vol.). Just a year later (Jan. 11, 1808) the U.S. Collector of Customs at Norfolk (Va.) informed H.M. consul that the voluntary enlistment of an alleged American subject in the Royal Navy—and even his acceptance of H.M.'s bounty, which the British regarded as a final proof of citizenship—could not deprive him of his American nationality. The senior British naval officer in the vicinity, Capt. Bromley (H.M.S. *Statira*) replied to the collector through the consul with sarcastic congratulations on this American acceptance of the principle of "indefeasibility." Jan. 11 and 15, 1808, F.O. 5/57.

or to his non-appearance in Court to substantiate his case, as would effectually discourage wilful frauds on the part of the American Captains, and induce them to use the strictest scrutiny and most careful examination of the Seamen whom they took on their Vessels. To these securities might be added a system of certificates and passports better constituted than those at present in use, which we are convinced by the voluminous proofs transmitted to us by Your Lordship from the Admiralty have been grossly abused for purposes of deception, and often obtained for British Seamen by the aid of bribery and perjury.

But whatever arrangements may be thought admissible or expedient on this Subject, it is probable that at first they will be found inadequate and imperfect. It will therefore be proper that this article of the Treaty should be for a limited and short period, that its defects may eventually be reconsidered and rectified; and indeed the renewal of it from time to time will be a security for the fair execution of its Stipulations.

We cannot leave this part of the subject without repeating our opinion, that without some regulation upon it, no permanent or sincere reconciliation with the United States can be expected. With the modifications and limitations above stated your Lordship will judge whether the inconvenience apprehended can take place to any great extent, and you will perceive that if it does, it must at the expiration of a very short period be again the subject of discussion. We shall only observe in favor of such an experiment, that the necessity of the case and the impossibility of devising any other security against the desertion of our Seamen, being the only grounds on which our present practice can be defended, our right if recurred to after the unsuccessful trial of a remedy will be strengthened rather than weakened* by our temporary concession.²¹ [**But the right must in the meantime be preserved in Statu quo, by express Saving provisos, otherwise this consequence will not follow—Ell²²*]

Whatever may be your Lordship's determination, we apprehend that the regulations on this subject must have some reciprocal operation and effect, in order to satisfy the American Commissioners. . . .

On October 28 Lord Howick replied briefly that the points raised in this document were of such importance that he thought it best to confer personally upon them and therefore made an appointment to do so, adding that the same method was to be employed in future. Unfortunately I have not been able to find any record of what passed at these meetings.

One point however is clear and that is that about this date the British commissioners, possibly under instruction from Lord Howick though they do not say so, decided to approach the Admiralty for factual information concerning the "desertion of British seamen into the American Merchant Service." In this, as might be expected, the Admiralty proved less co-operative than the Foreign Office and less interested than the cabinet. Thus when

²¹ There is admittedly a certain lack of enthusiasm about the recommendations contained in these two paragraphs, but the commissioners were at least willing to make what they regarded as a dangerous experiment, if only for a limited period. They had not yet closed their minds completely to the American demand, as they were forced to do a little later.

²² Presumably Lord Ellenborough, who was the last Lord Chief Justice to hold a seat in a British cabinet.

asked how many British seamen were supposed to be serving on board American vessels, their lordships replied briefly that this could not be ascertained from any documents in this country; while a complementary question on the number of American seamen serving in the Royal Navy merely elicited the brusque rejoinder that "to answer this it will be necessary to examine the Books of every Ship in His Majesty's Service; which will require a considerable time, and be attended with other inconveniences." About the only definite information which Lords Holland and Auckland received on October 30 was to the effect that the desertion of British seamen into the American service took place "chiefly during war" and "chiefly in American Ports," which everyone knew already. They were, however, assured that no discrimination was shown against American vessels as compared with those of other neutral powers; that no other neutrals had made "any recent Remonstrances"; and that all foreign seamen of whatever nationality were habitually "given up when applied for by their Consuls." But the last of these contentions was subject to serious qualification, for such seamen had to be "not volunteers but Impressed and who have not taken His Majesty's Bounty": moreover there was another saving clause, viz., "unless reasonable doubts are entertained of their being subjects of the Power in whose Name[s] the applications are made, or unless Married and settled in England . . .," in either of which events release would not take place. Clearly the Admiralty, as was the duty of a service department in wartime, was giving nothing away unless it was obliged to do so.²³

In spite of this discouraging response the effect of further conferences with the American commissioners was such as to induce the two British representatives to submit for the consideration of Lord Howick as early as October 31 the "projet of an Article relative to the impressing of Seamen," together with "a further and more detailed stipulation on the same subject." These two draft articles were accompanied by a copy of the American "projet," which Lords Holland and Auckland said they had rejected.²⁴ In fact, however, the main bone of contention was conceded in the British "projet," which began with a forthright abandonment of impressment on the high seas, though only for a limited, and as yet unstated, period. The rest of the "projet" tried to introduce such countervailing safeguards as were possible in the way of making it "highly penal" for the masters of vessels of either of the parties to contravene certain new and stricter regulations, while the "more detailed stipulation" tentatively affirmed a British right of *visit* on

²³ For the complete questionnaire and the replies to it see Oct. 30, 1806, F.O. 5/51.

²⁴ Oct. 31, 1806, *ibid.*

the high seas, though not a right of *search*.²⁵ The American commissioners on the other hand, while not unalterably opposed to the first part of the British "projet"—though their own was much weaker in the way of new safeguards—strenuously resisted any right of search. But this was not an integral part of the first British plan and its rejection was therefore not an obstacle to a settlement: indeed, what is printed by Zimmerman as the "American Project"²⁶ is a fairly accurate summary of the first British "projet" described above.

As Zimmerman says, however, in the week following the presentation of this "projet" the British attitude underwent a complete *volte face*, caused by what he calls "the intense opposition of the crown officers and Board of Admiralty of Great Britain."²⁷ The Admiralty alone might have been overruled—its attitude was already clear, as we have seen, before the first "projet" was submitted—but on November 1, the day after the submission of the "projet," the British commissioners seem to have been impelled, it may be by Lord Howick, into a belated afterthought about the legal justification, if any, for impressment out of neutral shipping on the high seas. If Britain were *legally* justified in making such impressments, ought she to prejudice not only her present but perhaps her future interests by surrendering that important privilege? Consequently the following inquiry was addressed to the Advocate-General, Sir John Nicholl:

On what ground does a Nation which has not a Right, by Treaty, to reclaim its Subjects from the Territory of another to which they have escaped, claim the Right of taking them by Force from on board its Merchantmen on the high Seas? And what is your opinion of the Soundness of this Pretension?

The result was the well-known opinion briefly summarized by Zimmerman, to the effect that the high seas were extraterritorial and that merchant vessels navigating upon them were not admitted to possess a territorial jurisdiction protecting British subjects from the exercise of His Majesty's Prerogative.²⁸

²⁵ This of course was the main British contention thirty-five years later. Hugh G. Soulsby, *Right of Search and the Slave Trade in Anglo-American Relations, 1814-62* (Baltimore, 1933), pp. 58 ff.

²⁶ Zimmerman, p. 121.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 120. He quotes the "crown officers" but does not specify the objections of the Admiralty. Actually only one "crown officer," the Advocate-General, was involved, and the initiative does not seem in any case to have come from him, but from the British commissioners.

²⁸ *Ibid.* The following phrases are omitted by Zimmerman: "This Right is limited by the Territorial Sovereignty of other Nations: and therefore His Majesty cannot seize his Subjects, because he cannot exercise any Act of Force, within the Territory of another State." And again: "This Right, I apprehend, has from time immemorial, been asserted in practise and acquiesced in by foreign Nations.—The pretension appears to me to be sound in Principle—although Difficulties may arise in its Exercise, particularly on board the Vessels of the United States, from the Similarity of Language and Appearance in British and American Seamen." Nov. 3, 1806, F.O. 5/104. There was also a postscript; see n. 29 below.

The reasons for maintaining this particular exercise of the prerogative, at any rate in wartime, were given by Sir John Nicholl in a postscript, to which Zimmerman does not refer, and more fully in a separate paper written some months later, probably in connection with the *Chesapeake* affair.²⁹ I cannot find in either of these documents much trace of the "intense opposition" to which Zimmerman refers; but although the tone is cool and reasonably judicial, as the law was understood at that date, there is certainly no doubt about the verdict, which is a clear recommendation that the concession be not made. It seems to have been the cumulative effect of the not unsympathetic yet uneasy feeling in the cabinet and Foreign Office, the surliness of the Admiralty, and the opinion of Sir John Nicholl which eventually tipped the scale. However that may be, on November 5 the American commissioners were confronted with the uncongenial "British Counter-Project" summarized by Zimmerman,³⁰ while on the eighth the British went the whole hog and in an official note, representing the considered verdict of their government, withdrew their tentative consent to stop impressment. The attempts to palliate this decision by pointing out that "no recent cases of complaint have occurred" and by promising the greatest moderation and discretion in the exercise of the right in future, did not appeal to Pinkney and Monroe, who certainly make strong verbal protests but decided, to their subsequent regret, to return no written answer to this document.³¹

If matters had rested at this stage there would be no further difficulty, but the astonishing thing is that the last paragraph of the offending British note contained a cordial invitation to continue the negotiation upon other points, even though, as the British well knew, it was an American *sine qua non* which they had rejected. Still more astonishingly, and after less than one week's hesitation, the American commissioners agreed to the proposal. In fact it was as early as November 14 that Lords Holland and Auckland were

²⁹ F.O. 5/104, bound between papers of Nov. 3, 1806 and July, 1807. I have quoted the relevant sentences in the *Cambridge Historical Journal*, IX, 339. The postscript to the opinion of Nov. 3, 1806, which has not been previously printed, was as follows: "The Pretension referred to appears to me to arise, not from any peculiar Law and Usage of Great Britain, but out of the Fundamental Principles and general Constitution of Civil and Political Society.—It is an implied Contract in every such Society, that the Members of it shall assist for the common Defence.—Every State at War has a Right to require the Military Aid of its Subjects.—If Neutral Merchants hire the Subjects of a Belligerent State, they hire them liable to a pre-existing and paramount Engagement.—And if a Neutral Merchant-Vessel, subject to Visitation and Search is met with on the High Seas, the Belligerent Cruiser is entitled in the exercise of the just Rights of War, to compel by force the Subjects of its own State to quit the Foreign Service, and to perform their previous Engagement to their own Country.—Should Inconvenience follow to the Neutral, it is an Inconvenience which he ought to have foreseen, when he hired the Belligerent Mariner."

³⁰ Zimmerman, p. 121.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-23. This note is quoted *in extenso*.

able to assure Lord Howick of the American "disposition to proceed to other matters in discussion (notwithstanding their disappointment at the little prospect of agreement on that particular point)."³² Here we reach the crux of the problem: what possessed Monroe and Pinkney to behave in this way?

Their official defense remained unchanged from November 11, 1806, when they first reported their decision to Madison, to January 3, 1807, when they sent him the completed treaty.³³ It amounted to no more than this: the British had retained in principle the right, but in their view had virtually promised to give up the practice, of impressment. Because of this they had felt justified in continuing the negotiation in order to secure the other advantages which they had been instructed to obtain.³⁴ It is a conclusion which throws an interesting light on the relative importance of the two objectives, or at any rate on the importance which, rightly or wrongly, they had come to assume in the minds of Pinkney and Monroe. Madison did not experience this sea change: already on February 2, 1807, Merry's successor, David Erskine, was able to tell Howick that the American Secretary of State, who had evidently just received his commissioners' dispatch of November 11, was extremely discontented with the turn taken by the negotiations and was insisting on the absolute importance of impressment. In this the inexperienced Erskine, who was always too inclined to take the color of his surroundings, was thinking vaguely of agreeing with him.³⁵ On the next day Madison transmitted a dispatch to Pinkney and Monroe, regretting their complaisance with the British and issuing warnings, more especially about impressment,³⁶ but this dispatch of course arrived some months too late. Already on March 1 there were rumors in Washington that a draft treaty had been signed, though the details were not known.³⁷ By March 6 Erskine was able to report that a full text had arrived and had already been rejected by the President, mainly owing to its omission of all reference to impressment.³⁸ But his next dispatch explained that this was not an absolute rejection: the President's intention was to send the treaty back to London for revision, not to break off the negotiation. This was due, moreover, not only to the omission of impressment

³² Holland and Auckland No. 3 to Howick, Nov. 14, 1806, F.O. 5/51.

³³ See summary in Zimmerman, pp. 123-25. The original dispatches are in *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, III, 139, 146, and in *Annals of Congress*, loc. cit., pp. 2496, 2507. See also Monroe to Madison, Feb. 28, 1808, *ibid.*, p. 2590.

³⁴ See Burt, pp. 202-206, for the reality of these advantages.

³⁵ Erskine No. 5 to Howick, Feb. 2, 1807, F.O. 5/52.

³⁶ Zimmerman, pp. 125-27. Text in *American State Papers*, loc. cit., pp. 153 ff., and in *Annals of Congress*, loc. cit., p. 2539.

³⁷ Erskine No. 6 to Howick, Mar. 1, 1807, F.O. 5/52.

³⁸ Erskine No. 8 to Howick, Mar. 6, 1807, *ibid.*

but also to the British postscript to the treaty concerning the Berlin Decree.³⁹

The two senior consuls in the British service in America, Thomas Barclay at New York and Phineas Bond at Philadelphia, sent more colorful and less official comments on the situation. Those of Barclay are particularly outspoken, since in his case the letter was a private one.⁴⁰ After stressing the large number of British seamen who were generally known, and not least by the administration, to be "navigating American ships clothed with American Certificates of Citizenship," he goes on:

The wast [*sic*] of Seamen in the British Navy is well known, nor is this a matter of more notoriety, than that the British Navy is the sole remaining obstacle between the Emperor of France and universal dominion. That these States owe their present enviable situation wholly to the existence of the British Navy; and that when we lose the command of the sea, they will without a struggle become Colonies of France.—Under these Circumstances the American Government ought rather to wink at casual improper impressments, than to complain without cause, and only to require the discharge of the Individual when his case was made evident. Native Citizens of the United States or persons who were in these States at the Treaty of Peace in 1783, I consider as the only persons entitled to the name of Bonafide American Citizens, I speak merely of Americans and of Persons born under His Majesty's Government.

His Majesty's Ministers cannot be too gardued [*sic*] on this point. Not a particle of our Navigation Laws, nor a principle respecting the right to be exercised by His Majesty over his natural born Subjects ought to be yielded. Great Britain owes everything to her Navy and Commerce. Deeply as the nation is involved in Debt, money is not wanted either by Commerce or Manufactures. Seamen and Soldiers are what she wants, and every possible method ought to be adopted to prevent emigration of British Seamen going into American Service. Surrounded as we are by an all powerful enemy we ought not to be put to serious inconvenience by America at the very moment when we are contending for her Independence and our own. The Americans reprobate a War with Great Britain. The best informed appear positive that Mr. Jefferson will not adventure upon it. I am not prepared to say this but I am certain that if our Government was to adopt a more spirited manner of treating the Americans they would not be so apt to complain.

Bond, another old hand, though writing officially, was perhaps more cynical—"... as to the Impressment of our own Seamen, it never was supposed for a moment, that England would renounce a Point, so essentially interwoven with the Principles of our Constitution, and with our immediate Safety..."⁴¹ It was fortunate for Bond, resting in this comfortable belief, which Barclay evidently did not share, that he never knew how near the home government

³⁹ Erskine No. 9 (Cipher) to Howick, Mar. 10, 1807, *ibid*.

⁴⁰ Thomas Barclay (Private) to Sir Robert Barclay, Mar. 10, 1807, F.O. 5/53. Sir Robert had evidently forwarded it, as was usual in such cases, to the Foreign Office.

⁴¹ Bond No. 11 to Howick, Mar. 28, 1807, *ibid*.

had come to making just such a renunciation, or that as far as the British commissioners were concerned the sacrifice, if only for a short time, had been made. Unfortunately his was just the sort of view most commonly attributed to the English by American contemporaries, and by some historians of a later date: perfidy and cynicism are all that is expected of the British in the age of Canning, even though it is as yet Canning's enemies who are in power. But in fact such sentiments as Bond's have often characterized all consular services, in which it is frequently held that the home government does not understand the situation and is letting down the man on the spot; and that, when for once the worst does not happen, the home government has merely acted with unusual, and perhaps unconscious, cunning.

It is not to be supposed that any such considerations were in the minds of the American commissioners in London: they were better informed than Bond and almost certainly unmoved by sentiments like Barclay's. The point was that they really thought they had done their job and done it well, and it is by no means certain they were wrong. Although it may have been important for Monroe politically, if he ever wished to run for President, to wipe out a long record of diplomatic failure with a real success, and although this may have led him to overrate his achievement, Pinkney's judgment, which was good, could never have been blinded by political considerations; for he was, if anything, a Federalist, and never had political ambitions. On April 22 the two of them replied to Madison's warning of February 3 by insisting on the fact that they had obtained entirely adequate safeguards on impressment,⁴² and the nearest that they ever came to abandoning this view was on July 24, 1807, when, after receiving new instructions dated May 20, they loyally informed Canning that they had misinterpreted the President's intention, which had always been "to stipulate *with precision* against the practice in question."⁴³ Yet in his Richmond letter to Madison of February 28, 1808, Monroe at least went back to his original ideas and maintained that in his treaty American rights about impressment had been carefully reserved: it was true that the treaty had settled nothing finally about impressment, but it had been a sensible working agreement. On April 18, 1808, he again discussed the subject—this time in a letter to Pickering—but in spite of Zimmerman's assertion that he then took a "slightly different view" I cannot find any material difference in his attitude on that occasion.⁴⁴ The only possible conclusion one can draw from all this, if Monroe's contentions are to carry any

⁴² Zimmerman, p. 128.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁴⁴ For a fuller commentary on both these letters see Zimmerman, pp. 130-31.

weight, is that, whether consciously or otherwise, Jefferson and Madison in 1807 sacrificed the substance for the shadow.

Meanwhile this particular opportunity for an Anglo-American settlement had obviously passed, for early in that year the friendly British ministry had fallen; the stern and warlike Pittites had returned to power; and on March 25 Lord Howick had resigned the Foreign Office to George Canning. Much has been made by Henry Adams, in two famous chapters of his masterpiece, of the pride and insolence toward the United States of this *bête noire* of Anglo-American relations. But quite apart from the general merits of Canning as a man and as a statesman—on which few Englishmen and Americans are likely to see eye to eye—no dispassionate reader of the British records could deny that on assuming office Canning found the American negotiation practically dead already and, even if he had wished to do so, had no means of reviving it. Harassed as he was by his immense responsibilities in the fearful situation in which Britain found herself in 1807, it is very much to his credit that his approach to what was after all a relatively minor question was so careful and correct. Only eight days after taking office he received a letter from Lord Holland asking him to put an end to the commissioners' uncertainties about the American negotiation.⁴⁵ This gave him a perfect opportunity to administer the *coup de grâce*, if he had wanted to, yet he replied upon the same day with a polite refusal to be rushed in his decision.⁴⁶ It was as late as July 25 in fact before the "Business of this office" permitted him to start a very cautious and precise inquiry into the exact nature and degree of the *verbal* commitments, if any, entered into by the British in the course of the negotiation, for until he was satisfied on this point he was not prepared to come to any definite conclusion. The inquiry, which proceeded on two levels, official and unofficial, lasted up to August 24, and it was another two months after that before Canning finally dispatched the official note which broke off the negotiation. All this time he was evidently much concerned with the necessity for honoring any British promises which might have been made, and it is clear that the reason for his attitude lay not so much in the repeated suggestions of Monroe and Pinkney that some such verbal engagement had in fact been entered into but mainly in his own feelings as a man of honor. This is hinted from the first day of the correspondence, and although on July 28 he was officially assured that there had been no commitment about impressment, except to "be very cautious in the exercise of it"

⁴⁵ Holland (Private) to Canning, Apr. 2, 1807, F.O. 5/54.

⁴⁶ Canning (Private) to Holland, Apr. 2, 1807, *ibid.*

and to redress grievances, Canning was still not satisfied. Thus on August 6 he again wrote privately to Holland:

If your Note of the 8th of November contained the *whole* Substance of what passed between you and the American Commissioners, that is an intelligible and sufficient ground for any future Proceedings—but I think Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney [*sic*] seem to imagine that something more than I can find in that Note was held out to them in conversation.⁴⁷

This resulted in another official denial by the two British commissioners, made on August 24,⁴⁸ after which there was a prolonged pause, mainly taken up with Monroe's vain efforts to combine, as he had been instructed to do, the question of reparation for the attack upon the *Chesapeake* with the general issue of impressment. Finally on October 22 came Canning's official note,⁴⁹ insisting on the separation of the two issues and terminating the original negotiation. It was a stinging rebuke conceived in Canning's grandest manner and calculated to destroy all hope of any Anglo-American rapprochement for many months to come. But it is worth noting that even at this stage, while insisting on a separate reparation for the *Chesapeake* as an incident which was not only different in kind but one in which England was wholly and indisputably in the wrong, Canning did not deny the possibility of reopening at a later date the general issue of impressment.⁵⁰

The fact is that by this time all the British cliques—Whig, Grenvillite, and Pittite⁵¹—had settled down to much the same policy about impressment, which, as Holland and Auckland wrote to Canning (unofficially) on July 28, was "to keep that question in a state of presumed Negotiation to the Close of the War; still however maintaining the unimpaired exercise of the Right though carefully avoiding any abuse of it."⁵² It is true that such an attitude represented the exact opposite of what the two commissioners had felt nine months before, but the treaty of Tilsit and the other successes of Napoleon left the British very little choice: all the three main parties, if they can be dignified with that name, knew by July, 1807, if not earlier, that Britain was now fighting for her life against a practically united Europe. It is interesting

⁴⁷ Canning (Private) to Holland, Aug. 6, 1807, *ibid*.

⁴⁸ This letter, together with most of the other letters referred to, is printed in *Hansard*, X, 593–96. There is also a MS. précis of the correspondence in F.O. 5/104, immediately following the two opinions of Sir John Nicholl quoted above.

⁴⁹ *Hansard*, X, 599–600.

⁵⁰ The same sentiments were repeated verbally to Madison by G. H. Rose: Rose No. 4 to Canning, Jan. 18, 1808, F.O. 5/56. Rose confirmed them later in writing, Rose to Madison, Mar. 17, 1808, *ibid*.

⁵¹ Not the Radicals, but they were of much less importance in 1807 than they were in 1811 and 1812.

⁵² Holland and Auckland (Private) to Canning, July 28, 1807, F. O. 5/54.

to note that under Napoleon's pressure the British had been squeezed into a unanimity about impressment which remained with them until his fall: for the attitude now outlined by their commissioners was substantially maintained at Ghent in 1814, and it was not until the practice of impressment automatically lapsed in peacetime that the principle got rusty and was finally abandoned.

Could the American insistence on the principle have been sacrificed at any earlier date? Bond and Gallatin thought so: Robert Smith, otherwise conciliatory toward the British, thought otherwise. Thus on December 1, 1807, Phineas Bond wrote to Canning from Philadelphia that if the British "blockade" of American ports were lifted,

and the Impressment of our Seamen were confined to Situations where no Exigencies existed to endanger the Safety of the Vessels from which they were taken—if a fair Regulation as to the mutual Restoration of Deserters could be adopted, and a Renunciation were made, as to the Right of examining national Ships of War—every candid Man, readily, declares that all Discord should cease. . . .⁵³

Perhaps Bond was too ready to find "candid men" among his Federalist friends in Philadelphia—yet Gallatin at least was very far from being a Federalist, and Gallatin was significantly silent on impressment. Thus on March 22, 1808, G. H. Rose, in writing confidentially to Canning, described an interview he had had with the Secretary of the Treasury:

Mr. Gallatin said at once, and spontaneously [*sic*] that *nothing* of real difficulty remained between the Two Countries but His Majesty's Orders in Council; this he repeated twice, dwelling upon the word "nothing," with particular emphasis. . . .⁵⁴

The Treasury, as we have often been reminded since, is not the State Department, and its views may not have reflected American opinion any more accurately in 1808 than did those of Mr. Bond's "candid men," but when we come to an actual Secretary of State, even if he is only the maligned Robert Smith, the weight to be attached to *obiter dicta* upon foreign policy is surely somewhat heavier. However that may be, on July 3, 1809, David Erskine, still in ignorance of his own disgrace,⁵⁵ wrote to Canning that he had had a long talk with Smith, who seems to have agreed with Gallatin in thinking that

⁵³ Bond No. 30 to Canning, Dec. 1, 1807, F.O. 5/53.

⁵⁴ Rose No. 22 (Confidential) to Canning, Mar. 22, 1808, F.O. 5/56.

⁵⁵ He had been disavowed and recalled in a dispatch of Canning's dated May 30: Bernard Mayo, ed., *Instructions to the British Ministers to the United States, 1791-1812* (Washington, 1941), p. 276. The news reached America on July 21: Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, V, 81.

only one contentious issue still divided England from America, but differed from him in still believing it to be impressment. Yet Smith is represented, on the other hand, as willing to accept the ultimate solution of that problem reached at Ghent after three more years of wrangling and a further thirty months of war—namely, to say nothing more about it! “It would not be contended for by the United States,” so Erskine reports Smith as saying, “that Great Britain should abandon the Principle, but only the Practice of Impressment out of American Ships.”⁵⁶ The practice had in fact been more or less abandoned for the past two years and was destined to be finally given up when the War of 1812 was over. It is possible that if Erskine had been more discreet that spring in his original approach to Smith and Madison it would not have been renewed in 1811.

However it would be going far beyond the limits of this article to embark on any discussion of Erskine’s well-meant effort to establish Anglo-American accord. He failed in 1809, much as Pinkney and Monroe had failed in 1806–1807, through ignoring his instructions; but the point is that there were at all times men of good will on both sides of the Atlantic who did not think that impressment was an “insurmountable Difficulty” between the two nations.⁵⁷ The only statesmen who thought differently—who were not prepared to negotiate at any date except upon the basis of a complete British surrender—were Jefferson and Madison. It is tempting, if perhaps rather dangerous, to differentiate between these diehards. Can it be that Madison really believed what he was saying in innumerable notes and conversations? Can it be that Jefferson sometimes kept his tongue in his cheek on this as on so many other subjects? Could so empty, pompous and verbose a man as G. H. Rose⁵⁸ have actually been right about that elusive genius, Jefferson? If so, the answer is that, while Madison remained a doctrinaire, Jefferson’s object was,

without actually going to war with England, to keep up just so much of Irritation against her as would satisfy her most important enemy; and especially by asserting

⁵⁶ Erskine No. 29 to Canning, July 3, 1809, F.O. 5/63. The suggestion was tacitly agreed at Ghent in 1814, though not embodied in the peace treaty.

⁵⁷ The phrase is Robert Smith’s (*loc. cit.*, n. 56 above) but he went on, as I have indicated, to show that it could be surmounted after all.

⁵⁸ G.H. Rose’s dispatches are intolerably prolix and conceited. For a contemporary opinion of him cf. Auckland (Secret) to Grenville, Oct. 16, 1807, Grenville, *Fortescue*, IX, 140. “Mr. G. Rose has many amiable private qualifications, but is not in any point of view an auspicious choice for the service in question. . . . Least of all, should they have sent a young man without rank or commanding talents, and the son of a person who has often affected to hold language hostile to the neutral trade of the United States. . . .” Rose’s father, George Rose Sr., had been a King’s Friend, then a Pittite, and was at this date vice-president of the Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy. He was violently attacked as a placeman and holder of an excessive number of profitable sinecures in a petition from Liverpool, presented by Brougham to the House of Commons, on Apr. 27, 1812. *Hansard*, XXII, 1067.

the right of America to convey the enemy's colonial produce to Europe, and to resist the Impressment of British Seamen from her Merchant Ships so as by the combined effect of these measures to weaken our Navy, and to convert our Mariners into the Supporters of the commerce of our Enemy. . . .⁵⁹

In other words, of the two American protagonists in the impressment controversy the earlier and greater, Jefferson, merely played upon it as an instrument of policy, whereas Madison conducted it like a lawsuit. Jefferson would never have let it lead him into war, as he showed in the second half of 1807, when conditions for a successful war against Great Britain were more favorable to the United States than they were in 1812. But neither would he abandon it, for as long as Napoleon was in power a state of neither peace nor war with Britain was in his judgment a clear American interest, and the impressment controversy, properly exploited, was a useful means to that end. Unfortunately it became a sort of drug, to which Madison, as Jefferson's Secretary of State, was compelled to get more and more addicted, and when he himself became President any powers of resistance to it which he may once have had were lost. The ridiculous agitation of the War Hawks on the subject was too much for his enfeebled constitution; he gave way and went to war in most unfavorable circumstances in 1812. What is more, he remained at war when all subjects of dispute other than impressment had completely disappeared, and yet ended by agreeing to a peace treaty in which it was not even mentioned! There could be no more convincing demonstration of the utter unreality of this particular controversy in the administrations of Jefferson and, especially, of Madison.

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⁵⁹ Rose No. 10 (Secret and Confidential) to Canning, Feb. 6, 1808, F.O. 5/56. The involved style is typical of the man.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

A Reappraisal of Charles A. Beard's
*An Economic Interpretation of the
Constitution of the United States*

ROBERT E. THOMAS

IN his recent address before the American Historical Association Professor Samuel Eliot Morison suggested that Charles A. Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* was written as an attack upon the Supreme Court and a defense of Populist-New Freedom policies. This is the traditional interpretation of Beard's book, but to insist upon it one must also insist that Beard attacked with his right hand what he defended with his left. For if the *Economic Interpretation*, published in 1913, was an attack upon the Court, *The Supreme Court and the Constitution*, published in 1912, was a defense of that institution. And if Beard's book on the Constitution was an implicit defense of Populist-New Freedom policies, his article, "Jefferson and the New Freedom," published in 1914, was an overt attack upon the entire Wilson administration. Thus, if Professor Morison's view of the *Economic Interpretation* is correct, from 1912 to 1914 Beard alternated between attacking and defending both the Supreme Court and Populist-New Freedom policies. During these years Beard was either hopelessly confused, or Professor Morison has put upon his book an interpretation never intended by its author. But whatever one may think of Beard's writings they at least are consistent, and in the *Economic Interpretation* nothing was more remote from his intention than an attack upon the Supreme Court, the Fathers, or the Constitution. Even less did he intend his book to further the policies of Wilson's New Freedom. When it was misinterpreted and used for this purpose Beard might have lamented, in fact did,¹ like the character in Eliot's "Prufrock":

That is not it at all,
That is not what I meant, at all.

When Professor Morison, and others who share his point of view, suggest that the *Economic Interpretation* was an attack upon the Court it would

¹ See the *Economic Interpretation* (1935 ed.), pp. vi, viii. Except where otherwise noted the books and articles cited hereafter are by Charles A. Beard.

seem incumbent upon them to explain how Beard could defend the Court in 1912 and attack it in 1913. That Beard was an ardent defender of the Court in 1912 should be abundantly clear to anyone who reads *The Supreme Court and the Constitution*, particularly the chapter entitled "The Spirit of the Constitution." Here in the strongest terms Beard denounced the government under the Articles of Confederation, and praised the Constitution, the men who made it, and, by the clearest implication, the Court itself. Yet we are to believe that by 1913 Beard had somersaulted to a position diametrically opposed to that which he occupied in 1912; or rather, because Beard worked on both books in 1912, that he occupied the two positions simultaneously. This is altogether more ambivalence than is likely to be satisfactorily explained away.

But in point of fact there was no such ambivalence in Beard's thought. He was a consistent and ardent admirer of the Supreme Court, which he considered "the guardian of the whole American system,"² "the last safeguard for civil liberties,"³ "the great defender of private property"⁴ (Beard considered property rights "sacred"),⁵ "a very strong tower defending the American constitutional system."⁶ "In my view," Beard wrote, "the great decisions and opinions of the ablest Justices are power . . . and the Supreme Court Justices should have this power . . . and exercise it."⁷ And, finally, Beard wrote that "the power of judicial review . . . is essential."⁸ This last statement, it should be noted, was written in 1913,⁹ the year in which Beard is supposed to have published an attack upon the Court.

In view of Beard's record as an admirer and defender of the Supreme Court it is difficult to see how the *Economic Interpretation* was ever taken as an attack upon that body. There is, however, one possible way in which this book could be so interpreted, but then *only* if it could be demonstrated that Beard disapproved of the entire federal government, of which he considered the Supreme Court the "keystone." In the *Economic Interpretation* (p. 162) he wrote: "The keystone of the whole structure [the federal government], is, in fact, the system provided for judicial control—the most unique contribution to the science of government which has been made by American political genius." If Beard disapproved of the entire structure then

² *American Government and Politics* (1935 ed.), p. 196.

³ *The Republic* (1943), p. 237.

⁴ *The American Leviathan* (1930), p. 72.

⁵ *American Citizenship*, with Mary R. Beard (1913), p. 54.

⁶ *American Leviathan*, p. 134.

⁷ *The Republic*, p. 227.

⁸ *Contemporary American History* (1914), p. 87.

⁹ The preface for *Contemp. Am. Hist.*, from which book this quote was taken, is dated November, 1913.

presumably he disapproved of the judiciary—its keystone. Conversely, if he approved of the structure erected at Philadelphia he must also have approved of the Court.

No one, so far as I know, has yet brought forward any concrete evidence which suggests that Beard had anything but admiration for the work done at Philadelphia. Nor is this possible, for Beard's writings, particularly when he is not constrained by textbook requirements for objectivity, exhibit an extreme Federalist bias. There is, for example, his attitude toward the government under the Articles of Confederation. He considered it a "failure";¹⁰ it had led to a number of "abuses";¹¹ it was "weak and futile";¹² and under it a "social dissolution had been threatened."¹³ But his Hamiltonian bias is probably most apparent in his attitude toward the movement for the Constitution. The conservative interests, as Beard saw it, had not of their own choosing set out to overthrow the old government and to institute a new one more responsive to their needs. On the contrary, these men had been "harried almost to death by the weaknesses and futility of the government under the Articles of Confederation."¹⁴ Finally, after they had been

... made desperate by the imbecilities of the Confederation ... [they] roused themselves from their lethargy, and drew together in a mighty effort to establish a government that would be strong enough to pay the national debt, regulate interstate and foreign commerce, provide for national defence, prevent fluctuations in the currency created by paper emissions, and control the propensities of legislative majorities to attack private rights.¹⁵

Beard admitted, of course, that with their *coup d'état* the Fathers had "departed from the letter of the existing law," but they had done it "in the interests of higher considerations."¹⁶ Further, Beard approved of Hamilton's fiscal program; not only was it "good for the country,"¹⁷ it was necessary. "Without an appropriate economic underwriting," he wrote, "constitutional government could not come into being."¹⁸ Again, he wrote that:

Hamilton is the "evil spirit" of Jeffersonian Democrats, the "scapegoat" responsible for all the ills of the early Republic, the "foe of the people," guilty of marring, after the Revolution of 1776, the new order of things which otherwise

¹⁰ "A Syllabus of American Government and Politics," for "Politics 1-2" in Columbia College, 1908.

¹¹ *Readings in American Government and Politics* (1910), p. 43.

¹² *The Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* (1915), p. 464.

¹³ *American Leviathan*, p. 21.

¹⁴ *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*, p. 464.

¹⁵ *The Supreme Court and the Constitution* (1912), p. 76.

¹⁶ *The Rise of American Civilization*, with Mary R. Beard, I (1927), 329.

¹⁷ *The Republic*, p. 270.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

would have been idyllic. The very mention of his name still arouses choking emotions in the bosoms of all "right thinkers" who confine their knowledge and interest to Anti-Federalist tradition . . . without stopping to inquire what would have happened to the Republic if Hamilton had never lived or whether the Constitution would have been firmly established if he had not drawn to it a powerful underwriting. . . .¹⁹

Finally, Beard had a tremendous admiration for the Fathers. They were "courageous," "brilliant," and "profound." "Never," he wrote of the Philadelphia convention, "has there been a convention of men richer in political experience and in practical knowledge, or endowed with a profounder insight into the springs of human action and the intimate essence of government."²⁰ And the Constitution, Beard felt, endures as "a monument to their amazing wisdom."²¹

Beard, then, has expressed in unequivocal language his profound disapproval of the Articles of Confederation; his belief that the "solid, conservative, commercial and financial interests" had been "driven" to form a new government by the "imbecilities" of the old one; his admiration for Hamilton's fiscal program; his reverence for the Fathers and for the Constitution itself. He has also repeatedly and explicitly expressed his admiration for the Court, and in *The Supreme Court and the Constitution* wrote a spirited defense of that institution against its Progressive assailants. In the light of these facts nothing seems more palpably incorrect than the belief that Beard intended the *Economic Interpretation* as an attack upon the Court—"the keystone of the whole [federal] structure."

Equally erroneous is the belief that the book was written to further Populist-New Freedom policies—policies with which Beard was utterly out of sympathy. His article, "Jefferson and the New Freedom," published in 1914, was a caustic condemnation of the entire Wilson administration, and during the course of it Beard asserted that while "agrarian democracy was the goal of Jefferson . . . the equally *unreal* and *unattainable* democracy of small business is Wilson's goal" (italics mine).²² That Beard was a critic of the Wilson administration is not surprising: he was a Republican²³—a member of the party which, as he saw it, "has twice saved this nation from going to pieces . . . on the altar of the Democratic superstition which has twice [Confederation period and Civil War] almost destroyed the nation—state's

¹⁹ *The Enduring Federalist* (1948), p. 10.

²⁰ *Supreme Court and the Constitution*, p. 87.

²¹ "Whom Does Congress Represent?" *Harper's Magazine*, CLX (1929-30), 150.

²² "Jefferson and the New Freedom," *New Republic*, I (Nov. 14, 1914), 18-19.

²³ *The Republic*, p. 287.

rights.'"²⁴ It might also be added that it is a curious Populist-Wilsonian Democrat who could speak, as Beard did, of the "Rockefellers, Morgans, Vanderbilts and Harrimans" as "creative pioneers" who had erected "magnificent economic structures," and suggest that these men must rank with the "mighty state-builders of the past . . . the Norman Conquerors and the Capetians."²⁵ It is equally unlikely that a writer of Populist persuasion would lament that "our giant industrial corporations . . . [have been] harassed by politics."²⁶ Or that such a writer would speak of property rights as "sacred rights in all times and places."²⁷ Beard has often been called a Progressive, and if this term is meant to describe the Croly-Roosevelt school of Progressives it is, with some modifications, an apt description. But Beard was not a Wilsonian Democrat—an almost entirely distinct group.

To the extent that Beard's book was an *attack*, it was an assault not on the Court, the Fathers, or the Constitution, but upon the "juristic theory of the origin and nature of the Constitution"²⁸—the belief, that is, that the Constitution was the creation of "the whole people" and was based upon some abstract principle of political science. Rather than having its origin in abstractions and "the whole people," the Constitution, as Beard saw it, was the creation of a small minority representing "distinct groups whose economic interests they understood and felt in concrete, definite form through their own personal experience with identical property rights."²⁹ In attempting to prove that the Constitution was the work of a small minority "immediately interested through their personal possessions in the outcome of their labors" Beard destroyed, at least to his satisfaction, the juristic view of the Constitution, long the dominant one in constitutional history and legal thought. This was his primary purpose; and nothing was more alien to his intention than an attack upon the Court, the Fathers, or the Constitution.

To the extent that his book was a *defense*, it was a defense not of Populist-New Freedom policies but of the framers of the Constitution, who in the process of constructing a government with their own interests foremost in mind, had built "the new government upon the only foundations which could be stable: fundamental economic interests."³⁰ He meant to show in a concrete way that the Fathers, like "great statesmen of all times . . .

²⁴ "The Woman's Party," *New Republic*, VII (July 29, 1916), 329.

²⁵ "The Evolution of Democracy: A Summary," in F. A. Cleveland and J. Schafer, *Democracy in Reconstruction* (1919), p. 491.

²⁶ *America Faces the Future* (1932), p. 118.

²⁷ *American Citizenship*, p. 54.

²⁸ See chapter I in the *Economic Interpretation*, particularly pp. 8-16.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

from first to last took into account the geared association of economics and politics."³¹

In view of Beard's Federalist orientation it is an interesting question how his *Economic Interpretation* was ever taken as an attack upon the Court, the Constitution, or the Fathers. The answer lies in the fact that most Americans believe that there is something intrinsically evil in placing business before statesmanship. In his attempt to destroy the juristic view of the Constitution Beard had sought to demonstrate that the Fathers had done just that. It followed, then, that the book *must* have been intended as an attack upon the Fathers and the instrument of government which they devised. But what his readers failed to see is that Beard, the hard-headed "realist," did not share their idealism. That government should rest, in the final analysis, on "selfish" interest was to Beard the simple sense of the matter—the only foundation upon which a "stable" government could be built.

New York, N.Y.

³¹ "Government by Technologists," *New Republic*, LXIII (June 18, 1930), 115.

The Elder Pitt and an American Department

CHARLES R. RITCHESON

AMONG the Chatham Papers in the Public Record Office is the document printed below.¹ It is written on folded, quarto-size, gilt-edged writing paper, unsigned and undated, but without question in the hand of William Pitt, created first earl of Chatham in July, 1766. The paper is the bare outline of a ministry. It contains only twelve names and is probably only one of several rough plans which Pitt committed to writing. One entry, however, is of great significance, and if it had become reality might have profoundly influenced the course of American history.

The three-page document reads as follows:

[page 1]

Lord Shelburne S:[outhern] D:[epartment]
D:[uke] of Richmond N:[orthern] D:[epartment]
Mr Pitt American D:[epartment]
Secretary at War: Mr Townshend
Lord Chancellor Lord Camden.
Attorney General Mr Glynn.
Solicitor General Mr Dunning.
Col[onel] Barré: Vice Treasurer
[Lord Lieutenant of] Ireland: ~~L[ord] Rocheford~~ [sic] Duke of Portland
Duke of Grafton Admiralty
Lord Coventry Groom of the Stole
Chamberlain Q[uary]
Lord Steward Q:[uary]

[page 2]

Ambassador at Paris Q:[uary] Ld Sa:[?]
Lord Rocheford: governor &c.
Chief Justice in Eyre Q:[uary]
Warden of the Cinque Ports Q:[uary]
Mr Controller Q:[uary]
Mr Treasurer Q:[uary]
Mr Cofferer Q:[uary]
Mr Treasurer of the Chamber. Q:[uary]
Vice Treasurer Q:[uary]
Treasurer of Navy Q:[uary]
Pay Office Q:[uary]

¹ G.D. 8, Bundle 74, f. 511. It is probably this document to which Basil Williams in his *The Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham* (London, 1914), II, 214, n. 1, briefly and inaccurately refers.

[page 3]

Privy Seal Q:[uery]

Governor General Q:[uery]

first Lord of Treasury Q:[uery]

Chancellor of the Exchequer Q:[uery]

The document may be easily placed within definite time limits. The use of Sir Charles Pratt's title, "Lord Camden," furnishes one terminal, July 17, 1765, the date of his elevation to the peerage, which also coincided with the advent of the first Rockingham administration. The second terminal is given by "Mr. Pitt," indicating a date prior to July 29, 1766, when Pitt was made earl of Chatham. Clearly, therefore, the paper belongs within the year of the first Rockingham administration, and more specifically, at a time when Pitt himself was requested to take the reins of government. It was in compliance with such a request that Pitt sketched out the rough plan printed above. This allows the document to be dated more precisely.

During their year in office, the Old Whigs made three major attempts to gain Pitt as the leader of their ministry. In December, 1765, Rockingham, through Amherst and Dunning, had made specific offers to Lord Shelburne and Colonel Barré. To Shelburne's objection that no system could be formed which did not have Pitt at its head, it was declared that the ministry stood ready "to be disposed of as he [Pitt] pleased."²

Replying to Shelburne's report of the offer, Pitt bitterly attacked the Rockingham ministry, declaring, "Faction shakes, and corruption saps the country to its foundation." Under such "wretched conditions" he demanded a direct mandate from the king and full power to act before he would even begin a discussion of a possible change of ministry.³

No such mandate was forthcoming. Indeed, George III, fearing the Grenville-Pitt "Family," was determined to countenance no approach to Pitt, despite the increasing insistence of the two Secretaries of State, the duke of Grafton and Lieutenant General Conway, that Pitt be brought in.

The first days of the session after the Christmas holidays, in January of the new year, however, were enough to demonstrate even to the king that a new system would soon become a pressing need. Pitt, in his great and eloquent speeches on the repeal of the Stamp Act, dominated the political scene like the giant he was. His wide and comprehensive treatment of American affairs and his espousal of the colonial cause gave him undisputed leadership in the House of Commons and wide popularity in America. His

² Shelburne to Pitt, Dec. 21, 1765, *Chatham Correspondence*, ed. John Murray (London, 1838), II, 354-55.

³ Pitt to Shelburne, *ibid.*, II, 358-61.

support of the administration's determination to repeal the obnoxious act led the Old Whigs to believe that the Great Commoner could now, if ever, be brought in to lead the government.

Grafton, who had agitated for such action so long, was authorized by Rockingham to seek an interview with Pitt. Their meeting took place on January 16. It was with almost pathetic eagerness that Rockingham wrote the king at 1:00 A.M. of the seventeenth that, as a consequence of Grafton's report, he believed "the End of the present very critical Situation will be such as may tend to his Majesty's Ease & Satisfaction."⁴ Pitt evidently considered the impending negotiation important because on the twentieth he sent to Shelburne to come to London, as the earl was "the person I hold most essential to any good for this country."⁵

Such optimism was, however, ill-founded. The king was mistrustful of Pitt, afraid of the "Family," and cautious. On Saturday the eighteenth he had, by way of message to Pitt transmitted through Grafton and Conway, posed two questions. He asked if Pitt were willing to come into office, and secondly, would a refusal from Pitt's brother-in-law, Earl Temple, prevent Pitt's own acceptance of office.⁶ The answers, purposely vague, but menacing to the Old Whigs, were deemed unsatisfactory by the king. The negotiation, therefore, ended fruitlessly after a final meeting of Pitt, Rockingham, and Grafton on Tuesday, January 21, the very day after Pitt had sent for Shelburne.

Pitt's answer to the king's question concerning Earl Temple was curious. Calling the question "cruel," he flatly declared that it would be impossible for him to come into the administration if Earl Temple were not offered office as well. On the other hand, it would be equally impossible for him to accept should Temple demand places for "some of his *new Associates*,"⁷ presumably referring to the Bedfordites, with whom Temple agreed in calling for a stern American policy. However, it was sufficiently clear that Pitt considered an offer to his brother-in-law as a *sine qua non* to his forming a ministry, and that place was to be First Lord of the Treasury.

Little more than a month later, a third unsuccessful approach was made to Pitt, again through Shelburne. On February 24, Shelburne reported to Pitt a "chance" conversation with Rockingham.⁸ The harassed leader of the government, suffering from a series of defeats in Parliament and fearing a

⁴ Rockingham to the king, *Correspondence of George III*, ed. Sir John Fortescue (London, 1927-8), I, no. 203.

⁵ *Chatham Correspondence*, III, 5-6.

⁶ Memorandum by the king, Jan. 18, 1766, *Correspondence of George III*, I, no. 209.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Chatham Correspondence*, III, 7-11.

juncture of the Grenvillites with Lord Bute's group, declared himself unable to cope with the situation and expressed the hope that Pitt would new-model the ministry, placing himself at the head of it. Rockingham, however, insisted that Pitt join with the present administration in forming the new plan to be presented jointly to the king. If Pitt, he continued, should go to the king without a settled and definite plan, the Old Whigs would lose so much prestige and authority that their ministry would break to pieces. The wildest confusion would ensue, and it was conceivable that the Grenville party might then return to power. Further, the king, hinted Rockingham, had strong scruples against being delivered up "blind-fold." Rockingham, convinced that Grafton, who longed for Pitt's leadership, and Conway would soon precipitate a crisis, begged for immediate action.

Pitt replied to Shelburne as soon as he had read his subordinate's letter.⁹ Offended by Rockingham's allusion to a possibility that he might force himself upon the king, Pitt again absolutely refused to engage in any negotiation without an express and previous command from George III. Two days later, an attempt to revive the negotiation through Pitt's friend, Nuthall, met with the same answer.

In late April, Grafton declared in the House of Lords his dissatisfaction with the existing ministry and shortly thereafter resigned. Conway, however, sided with Rockingham in deciding to go on. The king was delighted. He was by now fighting desperately to keep the ministry afloat until Parliament rose for the summer. If that object could be achieved he would be able to act with greater leisure in the formation of a new ministry. Nor would opposition groups, with most of their numbers no longer concentrated in London, be able to exert such great pressure on him. His dominant fear was of a possible reunion of Pitt, Grenville, and Temple, "the Family than which there is nothing I would not rather submit to."¹⁰

In his fight to stave off what he thought might be a "Family" assault upon his Closet, the king clung to his faith in "the chapter of accidents." In such a weakened condition, the Old Whigs struggled along. They toyed with various ideas of gaining strength from the Bute group, but, despite blunt proddings by the king's friend and confidant, Lord Egmont, no effective steps were taken to achieve this end. The duke of Grafton was replaced by the duke of Richmond, but this arrangement was only a temporary expedient. It was only due to the strength of the royal will that the ministry was able to outlive the session.

⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 11-12.

¹⁰ The king to Egmont, May 1, 1766, *Correspondence of George III*, I, no. 301.

On June 6, Parliament was prorogued for the summer. The collapse of the ministry did not come, however, until nearly a month later, when Lord Chancellor Northington, using as an excuse his dislike of the ministry's proposed Quebec Bill, declared he would attend no more cabinets, and informed the king that the ministry could no longer go on with credit. On July 6, therefore, the king announced to Rockingham his intention of forming an administration on a more comprehensive basis. The same day George III dispatched to Northington a note of summons for Pitt with instructions to forward it to Hayes the next day. Pitt had received his mandate from the king, and, in consequence, he hurried to London.

Since the three earlier attempts to bring Pitt into office had never resulted in a direct command from the king, Pitt's indispensable prerequisite for a negotiation, there had been no occasion for Pitt to sketch out a ministry. By eliminating these three approaches to Pitt, the fourth and successful negotiation which began in July, 1766, is the only one during which Pitt would have needed to write the document in question.

Pitt arrived in London on July 11, "not over well"; nevertheless, he immediately called on Northington and talked with him for three and a half hours. Northington's report of the conversation to the king stated that Pitt's plan was temperate and prudent; he wished to keep many of the present administration, and he definitely wanted Earl Temple to make part of the new arrangement. Pitt had no thought of including George Grenville in his plan. During the course of this general conversation, Pitt told the chancellor that his health would prevent his taking an active office in the projected ministry.¹¹

In the afternoon of July 12, Pitt had an audience with the king at Richmond Lodge and unfolded his plan of campaign against "faction." They both seemed to agree remarkably.¹² On the thirteenth, Pitt notified Shelburne that negotiations were in progress and asked him to come at once to London, adding, "As yet, all stands till Lord Temple comes to town, and his answer to accept or decline the Treasury be final."¹³

Temple, summoned by the chancellor at the king's command, did not arrive in London until late Sunday night, the thirteenth. Consequently, he did not have time to see Pitt before he went to Richmond Lodge on Monday, although he had determined to leave everything in the audience *ad referendum* until he had time to talk with Pitt. Temple, however, did not see the king on the fourteenth, evidently missing him while the king was

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, no. 346, July 11, 1766.

¹² Pitt to Lady Chatham, July 12, 1766, *Chatham Correspondence*, II, 439.

¹³ *Ibid.*, III, 12-13.

riding, and it was not until Tuesday, the fifteenth, that the king gave him an audience.

Since Temple had not troubled to be put *au fait* with the negotiations by either Pitt or Northington before his audience, he was received with coolness and reserve by the king, who doubted his good faith.¹⁴ The vain, proud, and intriguing nobleman, always jealous of Pitt, concluded immediately that he was to be the tool of Pitt and the king. The calculated intimations from the king that, although he desired to see him as First Lord of the Treasury, Pitt was to hold the monopoly of royal favor and power made Temple's position intolerable. He, accordingly, eliminated himself from the negotiation by demanding places for some of his new Bedfordite friends and a total exclusion of the Old Whigs.

At their meeting on the sixteenth, Temple declared to Pitt the impossibility of his taking part in the new ministry, and his intention of returning to Stowe the next day. It was in reaction to Temple's refusal to take office as head of the Treasury that Pitt drew up the outline printed above. The absence of Temple's name, and indeed, of any name as First Lord of the Treasury points to this conclusion. Its corollary is that the date of the document must also be before Grafton was selected to fill what Pitt must have hitherto considered as Temple's office.

The duke of Grafton, in the document above, was assigned the Admiralty, an office which Pitt must have known he wanted. Pitt saw the young duke for two hours on Saturday, July 19.

In this conference, Pitt surprised Grafton not only by offering him the Treasury but also by insisting upon his acceptance, threatening to proceed no further in the formation of the ministry if his wish were not complied with.¹⁵ This conduct of Pitt's would seem to indicate that Temple's refusal to take the Treasury had embarrassed his plans considerably. Temple's action had created an emergency for which Pitt was unprepared.

On the basis of this reasoning, Pitt composed the document between July 16, the day Temple informed Pitt it would be impossible for him to accept the Treasury, and July 19, 1766, the date Pitt literally forced Grafton into the Treasury.¹⁶

¹⁴ Calcraft to Pitt, July 15, 1766, *ibid.*, II, 445. Von Ruville is in error in placing Temple's audience on the thirteenth, and in the description of his subsequent motions until the sixteenth. See *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham* (London and New York, 1907), III, 177.

¹⁵ Grafton's *Autobiography*, ed. Sir William Anson (London, 1898), pp. 90-91.

¹⁶ It is not possible to ascertain the date that Pitt abandoned his idea of becoming Secretary of State for America. However, it was not until July 23, that Pitt told his confidential friend, Shelburne, that he was to take the privy seal. Even then, the arrangement was "in the King's intentions only." *Chatham Correspondence*, III, 14-15.

In generally dating the document three other factors are worthy of consideration. The twelve names appearing in it present a group completely in accordance with Northington's report that Pitt's plan included a refusal to proscribe the Old Whigs, and an intention to give several offices to them. Certainly, such was his plan as he explained it to the king.¹⁷

The presence of the name of Lord Rocheford is also important. Rocheford, ambassador to Spain during both the Grenville and the Rockingham administrations, may be considered at this point as politically neutral. However, his comprehensive grasp of international affairs must have pointed him out to Pitt as a possible member of the administration. It is also significant that Rocheford left Spain after a residence of almost two and a half years to return to England about May 15, 1766. As it is highly likely that Rocheford's convenient presence in England suggested to Pitt the diplomatist's inclusion in his plan, this would serve further to eliminate the three earlier approaches to Pitt as possible opportunities for drawing up the plan.

Finally, one of the most surprising features in the allotment of offices proposed in the document is that of the young and inexperienced duke of Richmond as Secretary of State. No doubt Pitt counted on Shelburne to overshadow Richmond, thereby reducing the Northern Department to almost a nominal office, as Pitt had once handled Lord Holderness.

Richmond succeeded Grafton in May, 1766. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that Richmond's possession of the office of Secretary of State for the Northern Department at the time of the negotiation suggested to Pitt his retention in that office.¹⁸

The importance of the document printed above lies, however, in the startling fact that Pitt not only considered the creation of an American Department on a full parity with the older departments of state, but also planned taking that office upon himself. Pitt was fully aware of the importance of the American problem. During the previous session of Parliament, he had been preoccupied with it. That he, even for a moment, thought

¹⁷ The king to Pitt, July 15, 1766, *ibid.*, II, 443-44. Richmond, Portland, and Coventry had held office under the Rockingham ministry. Pitt's idea seems to have been to keep the Old Whigs quiet by offering them several minor offices. "Mr. Townshend" is probably the catastrophic Charles. He had previously held the office of Secretary at War, before Grenville gave him that of Paymaster of the Forces, a place he continued to hold under Rockingham. Charles Townshend's cousin, Thomas Townshend, a consistent Pittite and the future Lord Sydney, had served in Pitt's wartime ministry in minor office. Rockingham made him a Lord of the Treasury, a position in which Pitt was now content to leave him.

¹⁸ Knowing that he was not well, yet not suspecting the rapidly declining state of his health, Pitt may have planned to lead the House of Commons himself, supported by trusted underlings and making not too frequent, well-timed appearances. In the final arrangement, however, he decided his health dictated a removal to the House of Lords. Conway then became necessary to lead the Commons, and Pitt accordingly replaced Richmond with Conway.

of becoming a third Secretary of State for America indicates his determination to effect a permanent and satisfactory settlement in Anglo-American relations.¹⁹

By July, 1766, a great crisis had been passed—the Stamp Act had been repealed—and the future appeared bright. To implement a broad and conciliatory settlement of the American problem at that time would not have been a matter of great personal difficulty for the new earl of Chatham. Supported by the united power of king and Parliament and immensely popular in America, he could have chalked out the broad lines of a settlement on true “Revolution principles.” He would have had able assistants at hand to carry out the details of any such plan while he himself acted in a supervisory and consultative capacity.

That Chatham’s physical collapse in 1767 allowed Charles Townshend, in the spring of that year, to execute a plan diametrically opposed to his American views and intentions, and this with the outward sanction, at least, of a ministry which passed under Chatham’s name,²⁰ is one of the ironies of history.

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¹⁹ The idea of a third Secretary of State for America was not new. It had been proposed before in 1751, and again in 1756. It was also mentioned in a desultory fashion by the leaders of Rockingham’s first administration as a possible means of gaining an accession of strength and stability to the government. The suggestion came to nothing and no attempt was made to carry it out. See the king to Egmont, May 18, 1766, *Correspondence of George III*, I, no. 311. See also C. W. Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics* (Cleveland, 1917), II, chap. 1. In December, 1767, Grafton, as the head of the administration, approached Shelburne, Secretary of State for the Southern Department, in whose office colonial affairs were included, and desired to know “what were my feelings in case it was found necessary or eligible to divide my present department.” Grafton left Shelburne not much choice by declaring himself “strongly of opinion for a third Secretary for America.” Shelburne to Lady Chatham, Dec. 13, 1767, *Chatham Correspondence*, III, 293–94. Grafton’s motives, however, for desiring a third Secretary of State for America were purely political and had as their design the gaining of support from the Bedfordites, who hated Shelburne and wished him out of office. The project of erecting the new office was undertaken without reference to the incapacitated Chatham, and with no purpose of forwarding a comprehensive American plan—Chatham’s or anybody else’s. Relations between Shelburne and Grafton had steadily deteriorated to the point where Grafton would have been happy to see Shelburne resign, although he assured his colleague that there was nothing personal in his desire to divide the secretary’s office and that he hoped Shelburne would consent to take the new secretaryship for America in order to frustrate any Bedfordite hostility against the colonies. Grafton succeeded in dividing the office in January, 1768, when, in a wholesale reorganization of the cabinet, the Bedfordites were gratified in their desire for office, and Hillsborough, a member of the court party was named Secretary of State for America.

²⁰ Grafton did not consider himself as the head of the administration until Lady Chatham made it only too clear on July 31, 1767, that Chatham was suffering from a complete nervous collapse. See Grafton’s *Autobiography*, p. 155.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

Custine and Russia—A Century After

A REVIEW ESSAY

I COULD have taken many pages verbatim from his [Custine's] journal and, after substituting present-day names and dates for those of a century ago, have sent them to the State Department as my own official reports.¹

This startling sentence, in the introduction to the literary apparition listed below, was written after World War II by the United States ambassador to Moscow. It sent this reviewer scurrying to the shelves of Custiniana for a check back to forgotten Russian lore. Two surprises were in store: (1) the sheer mass of materials catalogued under the name of the traveling marquis; (2) the fact that certain volumes have been gathering moss since the Crimean War. It suddenly became important to determine whether Custine (and other observers of his period) can help us know where Russia stops and Bolshevism begins.

To understand the attitude of Westerners toward Russia in the second quarter of the nineteenth century we must remember that all Europe was experiencing a hang-over from the French Revolution, and Napoleon. The dramatic impact of Western ideas on Russia was signalized by the Decembrist Revolt, 1825, largely inspired by Russian officers who had been with the armies occupying France in 1814. Russian liberals participated in this movement. There began the controversy between pro-Europe Westernizers and anti-Europe Slavophiles which was to divide the Russian thinkers down to World War I. The advent of the railway and the telegraph in the 1820's made possible a more rapid exchange of peoples and ideas between nations and helped to spread the new faith called "progress." Liberalism was on the march—to the illusions of '48. The lid was kept on the bubbling pot in central Europe by the legitimacy policies of Metternich, and in Russia by the autocracy-orthodoxy-nationalism credo of Tsar Nicolas I. The period in Russia gave rise to the paradoxical tag: "the iron age of reaction and the golden age of literature." To Europeans, however, Russia continued to be a strange darkness on the northern horizon. They resented the Byzantine exclusiveness of Muscovy, which claimed to be the "Third Rome," and they feared the expansionism inherent in the caesaropapism of the tsars (see Thomas G. Masaryk, *The Spirit of Russia*).

The marquis de Custine (born 1790) personified the feelings of the French nobility toward the Revolution. Both his father and grandfather died on the guillotine. His mother, a heroic and talented guardian, devoted her life to his welfare and education. Through her he acquired a "spiritual father," Chateau-

¹ JOURNEY FOR OUR TIME: THE JOURNALS OF THE MARQUIS DE CUSTINE. Edited and Translated by *Phyllis Penn Kohler*. Introduction by Lieut. General Walter Bedell Smith. (New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy. Pp. viii, 338. \$4.00.)

briand. Like many contemporaries of his class, Custine was a literary dilettante. He wrote novels, plays, poetry—without pleasing the critics. He had begun to travel as early as 1812 and eventually visited most of western Europe, including England and Scotland. It was while gaining experience as a traveler that he found his true medium: "*recit des voyages, sous forme de lettres*." His method, in "*grand rapportage à l'étranger*," was to reduce travel details to a minimum, and to give ample space to ideas and reflections inspired "on the spot" by peoples and places visited. His *Mémoires et voyages* (1830) and *Espagne sous Ferdinand VII* (1838) were well received. His reputation was thus established. When he prepared to turn east, 1839, he was a figure of some note, and a seasoned campaigner in his fiftieth year. There were in France survivors of the campaign of 1812. And a number of travel books on Russia were available (e.g., Masson, Clark, May, etc.). Whether or not Custine consulted such sources we do not know. General Bedell Smith writes: "He was thus, in a sort of reverse sense, the first of the fellow-travelers to make public confession of his disillusionment." That label would apply if Custine had actually believed in tsarism and was seeking in Russia a refuge from liberalism and representative government. One is tempted to suggest, however, that Custine was more of a professional tourist—somewhat of a Burton Holmes in a tarantass—who used travel notes as a frame for literary expression. As is the fate of tourists in Russia, his carriage was often "*kaput*." (For biographical sketch of Custine, see introduction, *Lettres inédites au marquis de La Grange, 1818-24* [Paris, 1925].)

In his *avant-propos*, Custine makes this apologia: "I went to Russia seeking arguments against representative government; I came back a partisan of constitutions." And yet he did not make any organized study of Russian institutions. The *chin*, or system of rank in state service, did capture his interest, a subject on which the Russian critics deplored his ignorance. His letters, written at night and concealed on his person (in fear of "Siberian oblivion"), do not compose into a travelogue. There are long stretches of extraneous materials, such as the chronicle of his family's tragic fate half a century before; also long illustrative recitals pertaining to Ivan IV, Peter the Great, Princess Troubetskoi, etc., as well as chapters from Karamzin, which could not have been intended for transmission through the post. The letter was Custine's medium of recording—writing to himself. At best, it is a contrived method, fashionable in the eighteenth century (e.g., Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*). However, Custine's anecdotes, chosen mostly to deprecate the autocracy, and the sparkling epigrams native to his style, keep the reader excited and indulgent of the author's historical errors. In twelve weeks' time he covered the distance, leaving Travemünde, July 4, 1839, by boat (S.S. *Nicholas I*) to Kronstadt, by carriage from St. Petersburg to Moscow, then to Yaroslavl for the Volga trip to Nizhni Novgorod, and back by way of Vladimir. He returned overland to Berlin, passing over the Niemen, September 26, 1839, at which moment he recorded: "Finally I breathe!"

The subjects which attracted his interest are too numerous to list here, the autocracy, the church, the architecture, the prisons, the razzle-dazzle of the court, the obedience of the people, etc. His ever-present *cauchemar* was: "Russia's intent to conquer the West, and the World." He used language strangely reminiscent of the Apocalypse, and even more of Heine. Compare for instance:

One day the sleeping giant [Russia] will arouse himself and violence will put an end to speech. . . . the floodgates of the north will again be raised upon us, then we will undergo a last invasion, no longer of ignorant barbarians but of masters [Custine, cited in Kohler, p. 40].

. . . once that restraining talisman, the cross, is broken, then the smoldering ferocity of those ancient warriors [German] will again blaze up. . . . the ancient stone gods will . . . rub the dust of a thousand years from their eyes; and finally Thor, with his colossal hammer, will leap up, and with it shatter into fragments the Gothic Cathedrals [Heine, *Religion and Philosophy*, 1834].

Diligent reading of Custine's original text, and consideration of his previous interests, prompt the belief that he was primarily concerned not with politics so much as with religion. His letters to La Grange reveal his early devotion to the cause of the church. In fact, his *avant-propos* to *Russie en 1839* is a strongly worded manifest on Catholicism. He writes: "I am a Catholic, because outside the Catholic Church, Christianity alters and dies. . . . Do you believe that the Emperor of Russia would be a better visible head of the Church than the Bishop of Rome?" Here, and sprinkled through the text, we find evidence that Custine's chief concern was the Russian identification of church and state, the caesaropapism of the tsars, for which he could not conceal his abhorrence.

It would have been natural, therefore, for Custine to be attracted to any Russians of the pro-Catholic tendency who came his way. And, as a matter of record, two of the personages about whom he makes the most mystery were of that school. Not much sleuthing was required to establish the identity of each.

The first was "Prince K," fellow passenger on the S.S. *Nicholas I*, who briefed Custine with brilliant frankness. Some of the prince's remarks may be said to set the tone for the remainder of the book, e.g.:

Russia today is scarcely four hundred years removed from the invasion of the barbarians, whereas the West was subjected to the same crisis fourteen centuries ago. A civilization a thousand years older puts an immeasurable distance between the morals of nations. . . .

. . . Since the invasion of the Mongolians the Slavs, until that time one of the freest peoples of the world, have become slaves—first of the conquerors and afterwards of their own princes.

. . . I am going to give you a key that will serve to explain everything in the country you are entering. Think at every step you take in this land of Asiatic people that the influence of chivalry and Catholicism has been missed by the Russians [Kohler, pp. 35-37].

Any Western student with a grasp of Russian history could have made such remarks, perhaps substituting for the words "chivalry and Catholicism" the likewise significant phases which Russia missed, "Renaissance and Reformation." One commentator of the time (Milnes) assumed that "Prince K" was a "graceful invention." Not the least interesting aspect is the preservation of the anonymity of "Prince K" in all subsequent editions of Custine, including the present Kohler translations, as well as in the numerous commentaries in Russian which appeared during the following half century. For instance, in 1891, N. K. Schil'der, the biographer of Alexander I and Nicholas I, introduced excerpts from Custine in *Russkaya Starina* with this: "On the steamer Custine became acquainted with a certain Russian Prince K." And in 1906, Professor E. V. Tarle referred to him as "old Russian Prince K, retired diplomat." Struve believes that Tarle did not know the identity of "Prince K." (Gleb Struve, *Russkii Europeets, Knyaz P. B. Kozlovskii* [San Francisco, 1950], p. 136.)

This continued anonymity is interesting considering the fact that "Prince K" was publicly identified as Prince P. B. Kozlovskii, as early as 1846 in a laudatory volume entitled *Fürst Kosloffsky*, by Dr. Wilhelm Durow, Leipzig, which contains the celebrated conversation on S.S. *Nicholas I*. Far from being anonymous, Prince Kozlovskii was a conspicuous adornment of the era; an erudite diplomat in the service of the tsar; a littérateur and intimate friend of the masters; and the toast of the salons of Europe because of his gay wit and trenchant conversation. He became a secret convert to Catholicism while visiting Rome in 1803. His conversation with Custine was reported to the Russian police at Kronstadt (see below). He did not live to see what Custine did with it, however, as he died in Germany in 1840. His daughter thereafter received a pension from Tsar Nicholas I—one of the many contradictions to baffle the West.

The other mysterious personage who had an important, albeit less direct, influence on Custine was Piotr Chaadayev, who was not a communicant but an eminent apologist for Catholicism. Custine refers to him (Kohler, pp. 336–37) anonymously as a man who "dared to state that the Catholic religion is more conducive to the development of the mind . . . than the Byzantine-Russian religion." Chaadayev was one of the most original thinkers of the time. His *Lettres sur la philosophie de l'histoire* had circulated amongst Russian liberals for several years in manuscript form. The first letter was finally published in Russian, in the *Telescope*, 1836. As a result the editor (N. I. Nadezhdin) was exiled. Chaadayev was declared a madman, and put under house arrest and medical supervision for one year. He took advantage of the time to write his famous tract, *Apologie d'un fou*. Custine considered Chaadayev a "martyr of the truth," and implies that Chaadayev did actually become insane because of the treatment given him. But we find Chaadayev writing vociferously in the 1840's, on the same subjects as before. His central doctrine was acceptance by Russia of religious unity with the West as the key to political unity. Russia's troubles, he

wrote, derived from her long separation from other civilized nations. The only hope, he maintained, was to accept the pope of Rome as the symbol of unity, and thus end Russia's exclusion from Europe's common life. He thus differed from both the Westernizers and the Slavophiles, having a purely religious focus. One is inclined to place Custine in this school. (See Chaadayev, *Sochineniya* [1910]; L. P. Gargarin, *Oeuvres choisies de Pierre Tchadaïef* [Paris, 1862]; Eugene A. Moskoff, *The Russian Philosophic Chaadayev: His Ideas and His Epoch* [New York, 1937]; also, Gleb Struve, *Russkii Evropeets*, especially Section XIII, on Kozlovskii, Custine, Chaadayev, which contains the most complete list of Custiniana.)

Space permits but brief reference to the Custiniana available in the Slavic collections of the Library of Congress and Harvard University. Custine's original text (Paris, 1843) consisted of four volumes, containing thirty-six letters, in nearly one half million words. Five editions appeared within sixteen years, indicating the sensational interest aroused by the controversies which ensued. English and German texts paralleled the French. An American edition, one large volume, was put out by Appleton in 1854 to meet a demand created by the Crimean War.

The commentators of the time were as much given to extravagant phrasing as was Custine. Gossip had it that Balzac, who visited Russia in 1843, was commissioned by the tsarist government to refute his countryman. It was also thought that Balzac himself started that rumor. Nothing came of it.

One of the first critiques in English was an urbane essay in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1844, in which the reviewer (R. Monckton Milnes) declared Custine to be a colossal egoist, whose "work is not a picture of Russia in 1839 but a portrait of the author, with a Muscovite background."

The fiercest polemic came from the pen of a fellow passenger on the S.S. *Nicholas I*, whom Custine distrusted as a phony liberal, "a sort of Russian scholar, a grammarian" (Kohler, p. 47). This was none other than N. Gretsck, an editor, a fervent monarchist, and apologist for the Russian government. It was he who reported the Prince Kozlovskii-Custine conversation to the Russian police. His verdict on Custine's book, which he sought to demolish page by page was: "*un tissu d'erreurs, d'inexactitudes . . . de mensonges, de calomnies et d'injures, en recompense de l'hospitalité.*" His master thrust: ". . . scratch a marquis, the Jacobin shows through." (See N. Gretsck, *Examen de l'ouvrage de M. le marquis de Custine, intitulé La Russie en 1839* [Brussels, 1844].)

Another propagandist attack was made by K. K. Labenskii, secretary in the Russian mission, Paris. His critique was better tempered, and notable for a defense of Peter the Great and for rehearsal of unsavory elements in French history to match the black pages of Russian history recalled by Custine. (See K. K. Labenskii, *A Russian's Reply to the Marquis de Custine's Russie en 1839*, English translation [London, 1844].)

The remark which went the rounds of the salons in St. Petersburg and

Moscow came from the pen of V. A. Zhukovski, poet, tutor of Alexander II, and translator of the classics, who referred to the traveling marquis as "that dog, Custine."

A natural defender of Custine was Alexander Herzen (then exiled to Viatka), who sharply disagreed with Gretsck's harsh critique and wrote of Custine's volumes: "Without doubt this is the most significant and intelligent book written about Russia by a foreigner," which are the words quoted as announcing the Soviet edition, 1930.

Custine's work was forbidden in Russia for nearly half a century. One wonders how so many Russians got around to reading it. The inescapable conclusion is that the foreign editions circulated from hand to hand. Certainly, writers of many sorts made reference to Custine in their memoirs, etc. The first appearance of Custine in Russian was the series of excerpts published in *Russkaya Starina*, 1886, 1891-92. The full text was finally printed in Russian in 1910.

The post-Revolution revival began with the Soviet abridged edition of 1930. As General Bedell Smith points out, it took the Soviet government a few years to sense the analogy between the despotisms of 1839 and 1930; the book was later withdrawn. No copy of this edition seems to be available here.

The revival in France took the form of an abridged edition entitled: *Lettres de Russie* (Paris, 1946). The editor's long introduction to this edition is extremely useful, especially in regard to Custine as a personage in French literature.

Finally comes the present volume, the first abridgment in English, a most welcome stimulus to reassessment of our ideas about Russia via the Custine medium.

In appraising Custine, one over-all observation must be made. His four volumes contain more "facts" and ideas than could possibly have been picked up in three months of sojourn and slow carriage travel. Moreover, the police was ubiquitous, as now. One concludes that the author worked off ideas which had been maturing in his mind, and used "facts" garnered from unnamed sources outside as well as inside Russia. General Bedell Smith reminds us that the great masters of Russian literature and art were still to come, and had not yet made their imprint on Russian thought. While this observation is true, it should be noted that Griboyedev's great comedy and satire on Russian society, *The Mischief of Being Clever*, was printed in 1833. Gogol's *Revizor* (*The Inspector General*) was playing to packed theaters from 1836 on. The luster of Pushkin, who met a violent death in 1837, already shone in the East. And Lermontov was actually in residence in St. Petersburg during Custine's visit. The portents of historic change were in the air; they must have eluded Custine. He seemed well briefed to expect the pretense of the Potemkin-village aspect of Russian life, but not the seedbed of Russian intellectualism from which grew the emancipation of the serfs two decades later. His one-lens view was as much part of the European attitude as was the fear of the "Colossus of the North."

Despite the inadequacy of this approach, we would do well to re-examine

Custine for the historical clues which may throw light on three major questions of compelling interest today: Russia's role between East and West; the permanent significance of religion; and the "acceptance" by the Russian people of despotism.

In respect to the first, the dominant historical fact is this: Russia was easternized at an early date, having been Christianized from Byzance, and occupied by the Mongols for 250 years. It might be that the vast Eurasian plain, unbroken by significant physical barriers, is condemned by nature to be perpetually unfree. Given these facts of history and geography, it is folly to expect the Russian people or their rulers to act in a Western manner. Time and space have made Russia something in between, and astride both, East and West. Amongst those who took an apocalyptic view of tsarist Russia was the eminent Pole, Joseph Conrad (Korzeniowski), who wrote after the Russo-Japanese War, 1905:

The Russian autocracy as we see it now is a thing apart. . . . That despotism has neither an European nor an Oriental parentage. It is like a curse from Heaven . . . lying dumbly on the confines of two continents: a true desert harbouring no Spirit either of the East or of the West [Conrad, "Autocracy and War," in *Notes on Life and Letters*].

One of the world's most pressing tasks for the next half century may well be the modernization of Asia. In this, the geographical *diktat* is that Russia be a bridge, learning in the West, teaching in the East. But since 1945, the areas of the old Eastern marches of Christendom have become transformed and serve as the Western marches of Bolshevism. It remains to be revealed whether Asia will be the end of the bridge, or the *place d'armes* for total war against the West.

In regard to the second, the religious issue of 1839 centered on the long and continued effort on the part of the West to bring about a reconciliation between Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy, after a separation of eight centuries. In 1951, the issue is the abyss between Christianity as a whole and atheism. As the Russian Revolution deepens into totalitarian inhumanity, the thesis of Chaadayev (shared in by Kozlovskii, Custine, and others) may prove of more than academic interest; that is, restoration of religious collaboration, if not actual unity, must precede any political integration of Europe. The West itself is sadly in need of self-purification. Should that come, then it is not unlikely that re-evangelization of the Russian people will become one of the most earnest projects of a chastened West in the decades to come.

And lastly the third question, the "acceptance" by the Russian people of despotism, whether tsarist or Bolshevik. It would be more correct to say the Russians seem to want strong leadership. They do revolt, however, given opportunity. Is it possible that Custine made as sound an analysis of tsarist autocracy as his countryman and contemporary, de Tocqueville, did of American democracy? De Tocqueville is a valid text for schoolbooks today. Is Custine? Naturally, there are common denominators peculiar to despotism of all ages. But the dissimilarities between the government of 1839 and that of 1951 are also impres-

sively vast, and prompt this reviewer to query the analogy suggested between Custine and the authors of "The God That Failed." Custine, the ardent Catholic, directed the force of his anathema against the caesaropapism which was basic to the autocracy-orthodoxy-nationalism creed and the central doctrine by which the ruler ruled. His visit to Russia but reinforced his intolerance of the regime. The revolutionists of the 1920's, on the other hand, directed their anathema against the capitalism of their home lands. They flocked to Moscow in search of doctrine to fit their aversions. In time, their refuge became a prison; disillusionment followed. Therefore, it is not sound history to correlate Custine, whose zeal was in the realm of religion, with revolutionists who eventually flipped off the Moscow train, and thus were twice renegade. Moreover there is an implication in the publisher's jacket blurb which might allow our less-informed people to assume that Bolshevism is tsarism continued (albeit in an atheist cloak). That would be misleading, and even dangerous. In all history there is no genuine precedent for Bolshevism, the essence of which is use of ideology and secret police for conquest. Expansion is by paralysis of other nations' will to resist. For peoples who have undergone such paralysis (e.g., those of the Baltic states) there might seem to be a precedent for Bolshevism not in history but in fable—the head of Medusa, a monster *sui generis*, endowed with power, even when severed from her body, to turn the beholder into stone. The unhappy Medusa, victim of Olympian wrath, was finally slain (and thus released from her torment) by a courageous man who used for vision the bright mirror of his shield; for weapon, a sword; and for mobility, the winged horse.

Finally, we must offer thanks to Mrs. Kohler and General Bedell Smith for so happily reintroducing Custine to English readers. They show us a new and profitable way to test our concepts about Russia. Their volume might even ignite a popular zest for reading Russian history! It is here suggested that a follow-up task will be to *préciser* Custine, e.g., to chart those of his deductions which are of permanent value, and which, therefore, could help us to know where Russia stops and Bolshevism begins. It is likewise suggested that the special flavor of Custine can be brought out by reproducing the views of some of his contemporaries on the subject of Russia under Nicholas I. For instance, there was Richard Cobden, England's great statesman and father of free trade.

Cobden's *England, France, Russia, and Turkey*, appeared in its fifth London edition in 1835. A French edition was immediately printed in Paris and was therefore available to Custine. In 1836, Cobden's *Russia* was published in Edinburgh, as by "A Manchester Manufacturer." The masthead of this brochure is "A Cure for the Russo-Phobia." The contents are divided into "I. Russia, Turkey, and England," "II. Poland, Russia, and England," "III. The Balance of Power," "IV. Protection of Commerce." Here, also, is invaluable material for present-day interpretation of the line between Russia and Bolshevism. This little masterpiece was reproduced as a volume of 156 pages (Boston, 1854) with the more comprehensive title, *Russia and the Eastern Question*. The first essay, "Russia, Turkey,

and England," was reprinted as a single pamphlet (London, 1876) indicating a continuing value. Cobden seemed to have a firm grasp of the dictates of strategy in eastern Europe long before the geopoliticians.

Although a staunch liberal, Cobden evidently did not share Custine's alarm over Russia. He found as much to condone, as to deplore. We find Cobden making a five-week tour of Russia in the summer of 1847, visiting some of the same places as Custine (St. Petersburg, Moscow, Nizhni Novgorod), but moving on a much higher level of officialdom and making somewhat happier deductions. He was, it is true, given the red carpet treatment. But, according to John Morley, Cobden returned from fourteen months of European travel, including the five weeks in Russia, with "such a conspectus and cosmorama of Europe in his mind as was possessed by no other statesman in the country." (See Morley, *Life of Cobden* [1881] for excerpts from Cobden's diary of the Russian tour.)

Since Elizabethan times there has been an apostolic succession of "explainers" of Russia; some almost seem to have gone to Muscovy for the purpose of being baffled. It might be that the continuity presumed between tsarism and Bolshevism, is, in the final test, a continuity in the attitude of Western intellectuals. There is also continuity in the Russianism of the people. For instance, Russians, whether old or new, seem not averse to be considered an enigma, a mystery, etc. One clue to that trait can be read between the lines of the following free translation of Tiutchev (1866), and is here offered also as a guide in appraising Custine:

Umom Rossii na poniat',
Arshinom obshim na izmerit',
U nei osobennaia stat'—
V Rossiuiu mozhno tol'ko verit'.

By the mind Russia is not comprehended,
Nor with a simple yardstick measured,
She has a nature which is peculiar—
Russia can be taken only on faith.

Harvard University

BRUCE HOPPER

General History

JACOB BURCKHARDT, EINE BIOGRAPHIE. Band II: DAS ERLEBNIS DER GESCHICHTLICHEN WELT. By *Werner Kaegi*. (Basel: Benno Schwabe. 1950. Pp. xxiii, 586.)

THE second volume of Professor Kaegi's great biography deals with seven decisive years in Burckhardt's life (1839-46) as a student in Germany and as a young professor and journalist in Basel. Like the first volume, published in 1947, it is a model of scholarship, with more than 1,500 notes. The author exhaustively presents and analyzes every aspect of Burckhardt's personal development against the background of the times. Thus the biography, while centered on Burckhardt,

becomes at the same time a cultural history of the years preceding the upheavals of the late forties. Professor Kaegi has made use of much unknown and unpublished material, especially from Burckhardt's notes and manuscripts in the generally inaccessible parts of the Burckhardt archives, and of the forthcoming edition of his letters by Dr. Max Burckhardt. Extensive quotations present the most striking passages of these hitherto little-known documents and give a lively picture of Burckhardt's vivacity and versatility, and their detailed analysis illustrates the gradual growth of the humanist and scholar who in the next stage of his life was to produce the *Constantine*, the *Cicerone*, the *Civilization of the Renaissance*, and the *Reflections on World History*. We read also specimens of his considerable poetic talent, and the thirty full-page reproductions of his drawings of landscapes and architecture bear witness to his artistic abilities. The book is a result and a reflection of the growing interest in Burckhardt inspired by the present crisis, many aspects of which he foresaw; it could have been written only by a scholar rooted in the Burckhardtian tradition centered in Basel and *Altieuropa*.

The four years in Germany, treated in the first half of the book, completed the foundations of Burckhardt's character as a scholar and as a man. Although he disliked Berlin, and in his South-German liberal conservatism remained a stranger to the Prussian mind and state, he was permanently impressed by the spirit of the university and his great teachers: Kugler, Droysen, Boeckh, Grimm, Stahl, and especially Ranke. While he had not much respect for Ranke's character, he soon became the master's most successful student, and all his work was to bear the imprint of Ranke's scholarly methods, his art of narrative, and his idea of Western civilization as grounded in the interpenetration of Latin and Germanic traditions. Among Burckhardt's contacts outside the university circles was Bettina von Arnim, a link both to the world of Goethe and to contemporary German liberalism. He was also eager and able to make friends among his fellow students. The happiness and exuberance of this period shine through his words, letters, and poems. Experience had not yet estranged him from the liberalism of his friends, and his boundless enthusiasm for Germany gave him the proud feeling that, as a German Swiss, he was culturally a member of the German community and tradition. This attitude was confirmed by the semester at Bonn, the heyday of his youthful years. He became a close friend to the Kinkels, and Welcker was among his teachers. The Rhineland opened his eyes to a world different from both Basel and Berlin. The medieval atmosphere of his surroundings contributed to the completion of his first historical works, *Karl Martell* and *Konrad von Hochstaden*. His visits to Flanders and Paris further supplemented his German impressions and deepened his interests in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In Paris Burckhardt was concerned not only with the Louvre, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and St. Denis, but also with the political and social issues of modern France.

The return to Basel ended the romantic period in Burckhardt's life, although,

as Professor Kaegi shows, some romantic elements of his character survived under the surface of his increasingly classical mind. After a difficult time of readjustment, his integration with his home city took two forms: teaching at the university and participating in the political struggle as the editor of the *Basler Zeitung*. The increasing violence manifested by the radicals under the name of liberalism—on the occasion of the federal *Schützenfest* in Basel in 1844 and in the fight against the rights of the conservative Catholic cantons—taught him a lesson he never forgot. It was this experience which made the friend of the German liberals skeptical of the specious catchwords of the century and opened his eyes to the rising tide of mass emotionalism and totalitarian demagoguery. His unusual capacity for work appeared at the same time in his activities as a university professor and lecturer. Medieval history remained one of his major interests. Professor Kaegi's numerous quotations from Burckhardt's lecture manuscripts on the Middle Ages underscore the desirability of a complete publication of all his notes on this period so dear to him—a publication which would take the place of a book on medieval civilization he never wrote, although he discussed many of its phases in courses, lectures, and research papers. Among his further concerns were the age of the Counter Reformation and early Swiss history. His other great contribution was his courses, lectures, and publications on art history, with equal emphasis on its cultural and its technical aspects. There were no slides to illustrate his lectures—he had to rely on the descriptive power of words. Besides research papers on St. Gall and St. Denis, he wrote many articles for Brockhaus' *Encyclopedia*, some of them little masterpieces. The supreme realization of the classical ideal he found in Raphael. He felt it, too, in the masters of the Catholic and Latin baroque: Rubens, Murillo, and Claude Lorrain. Rembrandt remained a stranger to him, but he did appreciate the Flemish and German masters and he was among the rediscoverers of Grünewald's genius.

The growing political and social unrest and the ominous forebodings of the industrial age, in addition to his own inner unrest, convinced Burckhardt that he was not yet ready to settle permanently in Basel; in 1846 he left for Rome, like Goethe sixty years before, in order to find the confirmation of his plans and ideals through the intimate contact with the ageless and unshakable center of Western civilization.

Kansas Wesleyan University

FELIX M. WASSERMANN

LIFE OF JULIUS CAESAR SCALIGER (1484-1558). By *Vernon Hall, Jr.*, Professor of Comparative Literature, Dartmouth College. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume XL, Part 2.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1950. Pp. 85-170. \$1.50.)

THE distinguished Italian physician who settled in or around 1525 in Agen

and became a naturalized French citizen in 1528 under the name of Julius Caesar de Lescalle de Bordons is well known to historians of literature and of learning as Julius Caesar Scaliger, the father of the celebrated Joseph Justus Scaliger, and himself a noted scholar. He wrote Latin poems and letters after the humanist fashion, defended Cicero against Erasmus, composed commentaries on Hippocrates, Aristotle, and Theophrastus, published a bulky and important work on natural philosophy against Cardan, and left a treatise on poetics that influenced writers and critics for several centuries. Professor Hall has given us the first comprehensive and sympathetic biography of this significant Renaissance figure, based on Scaliger's own writings, on the learned literature dealing with him, on the manuscript notes of the late Mark Pattison in Oxford, on the documents preserved in the archives of Agen, and finally on a collection of papers of the Scaliger family that is now in the possession of the American Philosophical Society, which has quite appropriately undertaken to publish this valuable study in its *Transactions*. In a detailed and lively fashion, all the known facts of Scaliger's life from his arrival in Agen to his death are reported, his relations to his contemporaries and to the intellectual currents of his time are adequately discussed, and the content and merits of his writings are amply characterized, with occasional translations of well-selected passages. An appendix tells of the vicissitudes of the Scaliger family papers, and at the end there is a good bibliography and an index.

To the bibliography might have been added the various studies of Karl Borinski, who in his confused but informative manner has a good deal to say on the content and influence of Scaliger's *Poetics* (*Die Poetik der Renaissance und die Anfänge der litterarischen Kritik in Deutschland* [Berlin, 1886]; *Die Antike in Poetik und Kunsttheorie*, 2 vols. [Leipzig, 1914-24]). In citing one of Scaliger's original manuscripts (p. 120), Mr. Hall might have indicated its shelf mark. But these are minor details. The only major point on which I am inclined to disagree with Mr. Hall concerns his treatment of Scaliger's life before his arrival in Agen.

This point is connected with a famous controversy. Scaliger himself in scattered passages of his writings, and his son Joseph in a special work, had made the claim that he descended from the Scaliger family which had ruled Verona, whereas shortly before Joseph's death these claims were attacked by Gaspar Scioppius, who tried to prove that Scaliger actually was of low birth and came from a family called Bordoni. Mr. Hall, who has examined all relevant writings and who knows that the Bordoni theory has been held by most recent scholars, tends to dismiss it because Scioppius wrote long after Scaliger's death and makes a number of false statements, and because Scaliger's claim was apparently accepted by several contemporaries or at least remained unchallenged during his lifetime. Mr. Hall admits that there remain reasons for doubt and that "no final word can be said on the matter unless new documents come to light" (p. 87), but after

these reservations he tentatively repeats the account of his early life as given by Scaliger and his son. On the basis of my limited knowledge of the matter, this is not a satisfactory procedure. The "Bordoni theory" does not rest on the assertions of Scioppius and other late and unreliable sources. Scholars such as Maffei, Zeno, and Tiraboschi rest their case on the fact that the account given by Scaliger and his son is on several points in clear contradiction with known historical and geographical facts, and can at no point be confirmed by external or documentary evidence. The existence of his alleged grandfather, father, and mother is unknown to any genealogist. No record has been found of the military achievements Scaliger claims for his father and himself, of his connections with the courts of the emperor Maximilian and of the dukes of Ferrara, or of his university studies at Bologna. His alleged teacher Fra Giocondo, whom he calls a Franciscan, was actually a Dominican. The professors whom Scaliger in the preface of his work against Cardan lists as his teachers, presumably at Bologna (cf. pp. 89 and 146) either never taught at Bologna (Zimarra and Niphus), or not at the same time (Tiberius de Bacilerii left in 1512, whereas Lud. Boccadefferis began only in 1515). On the other hand, one contemporary (Bart. Ricci, cf. p. 89) wrote a letter to Scaliger recalling having met him in Venice around 1521. Another contemporary, Lilius Gregorius Gyrardus, speaks of "*Julius Scaliger qui prius Burdonis cognomine fuit*," and Tommasini reports that the father of one of his own friends had known Scaliger as Julius Bordonius Patavinus. Zeno and Tiraboschi also found an epigram by "Giulio Bordone medico padovano" printed in 1515, and a vernacular version of Plutarch by "Giulio Bordone da Padova" printed in Venice in 1525. And the name Bordone appears even in the French naturalization paper and was admitted by Scaliger and his son, though they tried to give a different explanation of it. Hence I am inclined to conclude that the real identity of Scaliger cannot be proved, but that his own account is highly unconvincing and partly impossible. Family background counted more in France than it did in Italy at the time, and Scaliger married into the French nobility and had to defend the interests of his children. He may even have believed his own story, or have come to believe it. Scholarly achievement and integrity of personal character are not always combined, and unscrupulous vanity and ambition were not uncommon in the Renaissance. Whatever our judgment of Scaliger's character, however, his standing as a writer, scholar, and thinker rests on his works and will in any case be untouched by the outcome.

Aside from this notoriously involved and controversial problem to which he intentionally gives but little space and emphasis, Mr. Hall has accomplished his task as a biographer admirably well, and students of the Renaissance should be grateful to him for having given them at last a full and documented account of the later life and of the works of Julius Caesar Scaliger.

Columbia University

PAUL OSKAR KRISTELLER

THE POLITICAL COLLAPSE OF EUROPE. By *Hajo Holborn*, Yale University. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951. Pp. xi, 207, index. Library ed. \$2.50; text \$1.85.)

PROFESSOR Holborn in a bibliographical note describes his book of historical interpretation as "a determined attempt to condense the events of the international political history of modern Europe to the essentials," and he has selected and compressed what appear to him to be these essentials into 190 pages of readable text.

The book recounts the rise and fall of "Historic Europe," whose fullest political development he finds in the balance of power and the concert of Europe founded on the Congress of Vienna. Almost the entire book is devoted to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A brief introductory chapter of ten pages devoted to "Historic Europe and the Rise of Russia" suffices to trace in broad strokes the characteristics of western European civilization and to demonstrate that, although Russia became one of the great powers in the European political system, she remained culturally divided from Europe, essentially Eurasian in character, utilizing "Western ideas and institutions merely as a means for the strengthening of its absolute power" and for her own expansion and conquest. The author in his subsequent treatment of the nineteenth century finds evidence of this in Russia's intervention in central Europe in 1849-50 and suggests that "there is more than a superficial connection between the present-day Russian anti-liberal intervention and that of the Czars."

The author's treatment of the nineteenth century in general follows well-established patterns of historical interpretation in emphasizing the additional strains on the European system created by intensified nationalism, the development of industrial capitalism, and imperialism. Modern capitalism to a great extent "reaffirmed the historical pattern of Europe," and gave to national military organization and planning ominous weight which limited the freedom of action of diplomats, at the same time that the European powers acquired world-wide interests. Though trade rivalries and colonial competition did not of themselves lead to war, they added to the "acerbity of international relations," and they provided a virtual guarantee that any future war, however exclusively European in origin, would become world-wide in character. The international crisis of 1905 (Russo-Japanese War, Morocco, etc.), though it did not lead to war, offered a preview as the "first 'global' crisis in the sense that the course of events in Europe, Asia and America was determined by the interaction of the three continents."

This was the beginning of a system of world powers which was to absorb all continental or regional political systems, as became clear in the course of two world wars, both of which were European in origin. The first of these wars demonstrated that the European political system was no longer viable but depended on overseas support for survival, and Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union

and declaration of war against the United States made non-European powers a second time arbiters of Europe's fate.

The author's criticism of American policy failures in both periods, which he attributes in some degree to a mistaken notion that a European system as such could be re-established, is well sustained, but in the absence of complete evidence for the recent period, one may question his judgment that "it is possible, that Anglo-American policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union could have been more courageous in exploring Russian post-war intentions and the possibilities of preliminary agreements on basic questions of a new political order." In reviewing the postwar fate of such agreements as were reached, it is legitimate to doubt whether additional agreements would have fared better. The author concludes that what is left of the European system may be preserved from absorption by the Soviet Union by its merger in the Atlantic system, and that though the western European states must unify their policies more closely for defense and prosperity, complete merger is neither necessary, nor desirable, because Britain could not be fitted into such a union, and the other states may still preserve their diversified institutions and manners, "which constitute her [Europe's] historical heritage, still precious in an age of mass civilization."

This is certainly the best book published on so vast a subject in so brief a compass. For anyone who wishes to probe more deeply, it provides an excellent introduction to the profound, and much more extensive, book by Raymond Aron, *Les Guerres en Chaîne*, published in 1951 in France. The bibliographical note does not pretend to be exhaustive, but is designed to be both suggestive and critical for the use of general reader and scholar alike. There is an adequate index.

Paris, France

PAUL BIRDSALL

THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE. By Donald C. McKay. [American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. xvii, 334. \$4.00.)

DESPITE their common heritage of freedom and nearly 175 years of historical association, the peoples of France and the United States have generally found it difficult to understand each other. Today mutual knowledge and appreciation are essential if the two nations are to play their respective parts in the Atlantic Community. Professor McKay's splendid volume provides just the information which the discriminating American needs for the comprehension of contemporary France. The book is essentially a study of the French Republic since 1940 and only secondarily a work in Franco-American relations.

The volume opens with excellent analyses of the land, the people, and the government. The author's comments on basic French institutions are wise and penetrating. The section on the class structure, for instance, is a brilliant interpretation of present-day French society. Those not students of French affairs will note with surprise that despite the nationalization of industry just after the war

"the influence of the *haute bourgeoisie* in France is once again growing" (p. 35).

After a swift review and interpretation of Franco-American relations from colonial days to 1939, Professor McKay turns to the French defeat of 1940 and devotes approximately two thirds of the volume to the past decade. He moves through this period of despair, valor, hope, disillusionment, recovery, and reviving leadership with sure grasp of the facts and with the objectivity of the historian in assessing events of his own time. His discussion of economic problems is admirable, and the description of the political parties is an excellent guide through a forest in which most Americans, even of the college and university world, are perpetually lost. It is unfortunate that the book appeared almost simultaneously with the national election of June, 1951, and that the party statistics and voting procedures discussed are those of 1946. These are the only respects, however, in which the volume is not as up-to-date as is possible for a study of current affairs.

Professor McKay's discussion of France overseas will be for many the most enlightening and useful part of his book. "To those sensitive to the great qualities of the French as a people," he writes, "analysis of their colonial policy is an ungrateful task." Nevertheless, he has given in twenty-eight pages a magnificent interpretation of the revolutionary changes in the far-flung areas of the French Union. It would be of vast benefit to our relations with Asia if the thirteen pages on Indochina could be read by every American.

The concluding chapter treats French and American foreign policy since the war, showing how the two nations have modified their policies toward Germany, Russia, and each other. While France in these years has been "at times more a victim of international politics than a positive agent in their direction" (p. 246), "imaginative leadership [such as the Schuman plan] in the international field may well prove one effective avenue for the recapture of French influence in the world" (p. 256). The author ends with an analysis of America's competence for world leadership and with the belief we can withstand Soviet power in western Europe if the United States and her Atlantic allies act with speed and intelligence.

The two appendixes, "Some Vital Facts about France," and "Suggested Readings," should not be overlooked. The first includes twenty pages of tables and statistics affording the most complete and interesting data on France to be found in English. The topics covered range from population figures of many sorts, to the press, university enrollments, industry, agriculture, foreign trade, and war losses. With only occasional exceptions the suggested readings are limited to works in English likely to be available in most city libraries.

Pomona College

E. WILSON LYON

A SHORT HISTORY OF WORLD WAR I. Compiled by Brigadier-General Sir James E. Edmonds, Director of the Historical Section (Military Branch) of the Committee of Imperial Defence and of the Cabinet Office 1919-1949. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. xxxiv, 454. \$7.00.)

GENERAL Edmonds, who became director of the historical section of the Committee of Imperial Defense in 1919, had editorial responsibility for the compilation of the British official history of World War I. He wrote twelve of the volumes devoted to operations on the western front. In order to preserve a balanced view of the war while working on these volumes, General Edmonds prepared a short summary of the war on all fronts which was the basis for the present work.

As a feat of condensation this book is a remarkable one, but as the end product of thirty years of study and thought on the war period it is something of a disappointment. There are more hard facts and figures in this account than in any other single-volume history of World War I. Yet the pattern which emerges from these facts and figures is essentially a noncritical one. British military leadership is almost invariably presented as "sound," political leadership as shoddy. The French are frequently shown to be lagging in joint military enterprises. The weather is shown to have favored the enemy throughout a four-year period of struggle in all but five or six references out of thirty. Very little mention is made of the over-all superiority of the Allies over the Central Powers in terms of military manpower, industrial capacity, agricultural output, and sea power. The war is pictured as primarily a struggle between ground forces, with Germany possessing the advantage of a truly professional army at the outset. In General Edmonds' mind the problem of defeating the Central Powers was simply one of canceling out the advantages Germany possessed in a professional army by means of mutual slaughter. Thus he accepts the loss of 600,000 Allied troops at the Somme in 1916 as a necessary step toward the destruction of the professional core of the German armies. Of the Somme battles General Edmonds writes: "When opposing forces are nearly equally balanced and there is no way around, attrition, as Grant had shown in 1864-65, may be the cheapest way in the end; to plan for victories without heavy losses in such a case usually produces heavy losses without victories."

The victory against Germany and her allies is thus shown to be a matter of casualties. In contrast to the opinions of other writers General Edmonds believes (p. 438) that in wars between civilized states numbers are generally decisive and casualties are about equal. He strengthens his conclusions in these matters by doubling the casualties reported in the German official history on the ground that deaths from sickness, lightly wounded troops, and those treated in corps area hospitals were not included in German casualty lists. A study of German regimental histories and the *Ehrenliste* published in the *Militärwochenblatt* led him to believe that German death casualties in World War I were over four million rather than two million.

General Edmonds does not share the view held by many that the proper answer to trenches, machine-guns, and barbed wire, which ruled out movement and surprise from 1915 to 1918, was to be found in new weapons like the tank,

the origin of which he does not even mention. He feels that the reason why the Germans and the Allies both failed to achieve a decisive breakthrough of the entrenched positions in the West was that the problem was treated like one of field warfare when it was in fact a problem of siege warfare. He believes (p. 77) that the Japanese, who opened parallels and approaches in the old style of siege warfare at Kiao-chau in September, 1914, knew what they were doing. He allows himself to be critical of the German high command for wasting the surprise value of gas in 1915 for a local advantage but condones the British high command's similar misuse of the tank. The device General Edmonds employs to explain British lack of success in various operations is to give a summary of shortages of equipment or lack of replacements, followed by the refrain: "It was the old, old story of the British army being called upon to undertake a great task with wholly inadequate means." He does not remind his readers that in most of the operations referred to the military leaders themselves thought that success was possible *before* the operation was undertaken.

There are a number of errors in this volume which could have been caught by an alert proofreader. General Edmonds has the Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria assassinated on two different dates (pp. 2, 16). He has the outbreak of the Russian Revolution occurring in April, 1917 (p. 205), but also in March (p. 207). It is a little surprising in a book published in 1951 to find the Germans beginning financial mobilization for war at the Potsdam Crown Council on July 5, 1914. General Edmonds repeats the ancient cliché about the Germans referring to the B.E.F. as the "contemptible little British army."

In one field General Edmonds renders his readers a valuable service. He makes crystal clear the enormous cost of Britain's campaigns waged outside the main theater in France. He also traces with great skill the relation and effect of campaigns being waged in one theater upon those in another. Air and naval operations are generally dealt with separately from ground operations, in sub-chapters or summary paragraphs. There are thirty-four maps and an excellent index.

University of Missouri

H. A. DEWEERD

ISLAM: BELIEF AND PRACTICES. By *A. S. Tritton*, Late Professor of Arabic at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. [Hutchinson's University Library, World Religions.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1951. Pp. 200. Trade \$2.00, text \$1.60.)

THIS new addition to Hutchinson's University Library attempts to describe and explain Islam for the general reading public. It is not necessarily for scholars of Islam. It includes within the scope of its chapters the fundamental aspects of Islam which are necessary to an understanding of that religion, and of the political and philosophical systems that have grown out of it.

The author begins with Mohammed and the Koran, showing the religious unrest that was prevalent in Arabia when he assumed the prophetic mission. Then he outlines the six personal responsibilities of each Moslem: faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, pilgrimage, and holy war. The next three chapters discuss theology, philosophy, and law, explaining the methods used in collecting Hadith, and the use they were put to in erecting the legal system, Sharia. There is a chapter devoted to many of the sects into which Islam has split; another to mysticism which has played such an important role among both orthodox and heretical sects; and another which shows how the theocratic theories of Islam have functioned in the practice of government. The ninth chapter is a disproportionately long one which catalogues certain aspects of social life and some of the popular ideas of present-day Islam, including ethics, marriage, adoption, slavery, saints, sacrifice, magic, and dreams. The last chapter is concerned with modern movements within Islam which seek to change a system which for centuries seemed to be inalterably fixed.

It is regrettable that the author has performed only one half of his duty in such a book about Islam. Though he has provided enough material for the reader to acquire the general background of Islam, he fails to explain the material presented or to integrate it. For instance, he has not analyzed, sufficiently, the philosophy behind the growth of Hadith or the Sharia, and it would be difficult to determine from his work the relative importance of one sect over another, or their relationship to orthodox Islam. Professor Tritton's work has no footnotes, but he has provided a bibliography and a useful glossary.

Perhaps these failures are explained, in part, by the deficiencies of his style. He has a habit of making terse statements about important tenets of Islam and then explaining them by quoting an anecdote, in the manner of an Arab writer of the Middle Ages. In general, matters of importance and trivia receive similar treatment, and are not defined in terms of their historical development or of their relationship to Islam generally. Furthermore this extravagant use of anecdote consumes space, which, in so short a book, is needed for more important matters. It is regrettable that these elements break the continuity of the work and make the reading of it very trying.

Yale University

EDWARD S. CHASE, JR.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MEDITERRANEAN, 1939-1945. By *Raymond de Belot*, Rear Admiral, French Navy (ret.). Translated by *James A. Field, Jr.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. xix, 287. \$4.00.)

WHILE this small volume, first published in France under the title *La guerre aéronavale en Méditerranée, 1939-1945*, is not intended to be a detailed or definitive account of all military operations in the area, it is a brilliant analysis of these operations with major emphasis on the naval struggle. Admiral de Belot knows

the Mediterranean and appreciates its importance. He has used French accounts and most of the published works in English and Italian to produce an important book. The translator and the publisher are to be congratulated for making this work available to more readers.

The major contribution is an analysis of the weaknesses and mistakes of the Axis powers. Developments in France hastened the implementation of Mussolini's prior decision to enter the war. Italy came into the war "profoundly disturbed in conscience" and with all her hopes placed in a short war. The speed with which she declared war caused the loss of about a third of her widely dispersed merchant marine. Italy did not have the industrial base for the role she attempted to play. She was never able to produce more than 250 planes in a month. She was an economic burden to her German ally. Her army was not ready for war. Proper co-ordination between the navy and the air force was never achieved. The air force started the war with no torpedo planes, and with little attention to dive bombing. The navy had no carriers and lacked radar. There were also some technical defects in Italian ships. "The Italian high command maintained too rigid a control over the lower echelons." There was no strategic plan. Mussolini dispersed his strength outside the Mediterranean and did not concentrate his remaining strength on the most important Mediterranean objectives. His failure to gain control of French North Africa in the armistice with France and his failures to seize Malta and Alexandria were blunders. Relations between the navy and the air force became very bad as a result of the battle of Punta Stilo in which Italian airmen bombed their own ships for several hours. After such defeats as Taranto and Matapan there was increasing caution on the part of naval leaders. Fuel shortages and the necessity of using Italian warships to get supplies to Libya also weakened the striking power of the Italian fleet. Italian heavy ships did not intervene during the British evacuation of Greece and Crete.

Although Italian failures brought Germany into the Mediterranean theater, effective teamwork was never established between the two nations. German operations were largely defensive. First importance was given to other areas. In 1941 and 1942 Germany could have driven the British from Suez but each time she weakened her air strength in order to bolster the Russian front. The Germans should have taken Gibraltar and Malta at an early date. Not until the fall of 1941 were German submarines sent to the Mediterranean.

Admiral de Belot praises British operations except for the Mers el Kébir encounter with French ships. The British regarded the Mediterranean as "the preferred area in which to counterattack a power seeking to dominate Europe." Unlike the Italians, the British masked their weakness by greater activity. The Takoradi airway greatly aided them in holding a strong position in the Mediterranean. The resolution to contest the mastery of the central Mediterranean was one of the great decisions of the war. Malta's defense probably saved the Mediterranean.

The last two sections of the book give a good summary of the Allied landings in Africa, the invasion of Italy, and the landings in southern France. After the Normandy landings General Maitland Wilson, the Allied commander in chief in the Mediterranean, advocated an advance into the Po valley, landings in the Istrian peninsula, and a push through the Ljubljana gap into Hungary in preference to the landings in southern France. Eisenhower felt that all resources should be devoted to the battle of France.

Admiral de Belot does not mention the role which armed merchant ships played in defeating Axis air power in the Mediterranean. An incorrect date is given in the last paragraph on page 8.

Colgate University

WILLIAM C. ASKEW

Ancient and Medieval History

A HISTORY OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN ANTIQUITY. In two volumes.

By *Georg Misch*, Professor of Philosophy at Göttingen University. Translated by *E. W. Dickes*. (3d ed.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 352; vi, 353-706. \$8.50.)

THIS interesting but difficult work is not so much a history of autobiography—there was little of it in antiquity—as a consideration of the contribution of antiquity to the “growth in Western civilization of man’s awareness of personality” (I, vii). Hence also other forms of literature are considered. At the beginning of one chapter we are told that “attention will be focused on the relations of the idea of personality to the ultimate problems of life as revealed in the philosophic meditation, the criticism of society, and the religious impulses that found their way into literature” (p. 355). Moreover, as background there are given characterizations of the culture and philosophy of the times. When it is added that several ancient works are analyzed rather fully, it becomes easy to account for the length of the two volumes.

The present edition is a translation and expanded version of a work which first appeared in German in 1907. The English version, which was prepared while the author was an exile from his country, has been used as basis for the third German edition, which actually was published before the English. The two are considerably longer than the original edition, the most important addition being a detailed discussion of Plato’s autobiographical *Seventh Letter*. Otherwise much remains the same. The style is rather heavy, and there are some infelicities due to the difficulty of rendering in English something which has been formulated in another language. The author, who became professor of philosophy at Göttingen in 1919, is a sufficiently good classical scholar to have an independent judgment on problems considered. Thus, while many scholars regard Plato’s *Seventh Letter* as genuine, Misch states that he himself does not.

The manner in which the image of a caged bird already used in the *Phaedrus* (249 d) is reused in the *Seventh Letter* (348 a) is unworthy of Plato; the letter is rather the work of a disciple (pp. 149 f., 155). The argument is hardly convincing in itself, but it shows a laudable independence of judgment. On the other hand, there are statements which suggest that, outside his special interests, the author's knowledge of classical culture is superficial. Thus, the statement that the boy in Vergil's fourth eclogue was the expected son of Octavian and Scribonia (p. 268) treats with excessive dogmatism one of the most controversial points in history.

The object of autobiography is defined by Misch as "the revelation of the full content of the life of an individual considered as a characteristic whole" (p. 65). These words immediately suggest a difficulty. In spite of all the emphasis on personality, the individual must not be too individual but is important only as a "characteristic whole." It is as if he were a particular embodiment of a Platonic idea or form. This approach to the subject means that Misch actually is afraid of too much intimacy with the persons considered and objects not only to excessive details but to many details which others would consider significant. Details are valued only if they have a bearing on his special interest, the awareness of personality. This found its highest expression in antiquity in Augustine's *Confessions*, a work which in a sense corresponds to the psychological novel in modern literature (p. 542).

Consequently it is not surprising to find emphasis on psychological analysis and religious thought and particularly on accounts of conversion. Greek culture is credited with discovering and freeing human personality (p. 61), though "the full reality of the unique life of the soul was not revealed to the ancients" (p. 66). The beginning of the discovery belongs to post-Homeric Greece with Hesiod, Sappho, Archilochus, Solon, etc. Here justice is not done to the ebullient egoism of the early Greek aristocrats of the kind probably best illustrated by Herodotus' story (6. 127-29) of the suitor of Agariste who almost won the bride but by the exhibitionism and bad taste of his dancing disgusted the girl's father. When the latter exclaimed "Son of Teisander, you have danced away your wedding," the suitor answered, "Hippocleides doesn't care," and danced on. Obviously personality as such does not interest Misch as much as conscious and self-conscious analysis of psychological evolution and conversion in biography and autobiography. He barely mentions Sappho and seems to pass over Anacreon and Theognis altogether but is interested in Solon and even more so in Empedocles, on account of the "self-portrayal of the religious teacher" in his *Purifications* (p. 83), and in the autobiographical narratives in Plato's *Phaedo* and *Apology*, on account of their relation to conversion.

The author's methods and points of view are well illustrated by his discussion of Cicero's letters (pp. 357-71). In these "we have before us a sort of intimate diary in which a famous man, a historic personality of the highest order, gives us

a revelation of himself, free from all artificiality" (p. 360). It is this self-revelation which interests Misch, though he finds that Cicero did not evaluate his own personality correctly. "His soul had been filled by the national history with an ideal of personality that associated the true greatness to which he aspired with statesmanship, and at the same time with simple moral firmness of character. . . . Thus he based his self-esteem on an illusion, so that it turned into vainglory, and the inner freedom of an independent mind which he really possessed was not appreciated by him as what it was, the fulfillment of his individual existence" (p. 364). This is an acute remark, and it is followed by excellent appreciations of Cicero's statements concerning his emotions and points of view. These include his efforts "to sustain his moral consciousness" (p. 366) and particularly to live up to the standards of his consulate. "To be true to himself, or, as he also expresses it, *se tueri*, to watch himself, remains his standard, dictating matters of conscience, which he places before himself and answers not with 'yes' or 'no' but according to the political situation of the time" (p. 367).

Here, incidentally, is an example of the difficulty of translating. The last clause quoted, which contradicts what has gone just before, must startle the attentive reader. Does Misch really mean this? Apparently not. The German version has "*nicht nur* [italics mine] mit einem Ja oder Nein"; the omission of any English equivalent of *nur* has stultified the meaning. The author did not mean to accuse Cicero of abandoning his standards completely but merely of stretching them a bit.

Thus Misch has made excellent use of Cicero's letters and is grateful for their self-revelation. He also praises Cicero's ability to make thumbnail sketches of personages and situations. Nevertheless, he goes out of his way to warn against precisely the kind of material which Cicero's letters contain. He speaks of "unfruitful intimacy" and the danger of knowing too much. Cicero's correspondence has given us so many intimate details "that in his case the process could set in that gives access to the character by way of trivialities and, if sufficient material could be got together, would degrade most men to the common level and allow only a few to stand out from their age as great figures" (pp. 359 f.). Yet, in spite of this, "the editors, with all their lack of respect, must be thanked for the preservation of these letters. For Cicero had more to offer than mere stuff for the curious" (p. 360). What use Misch has made of this "more" has already been noticed; the other material which historians seize upon avidly is "stuff for the curious." When he writes: "Cornelius Nepos . . . is able to tell us that in them [the letters] a true history of those days is to be found, with all the changes in the State and with the secret views and secret vices of the leading persons, all made entirely clear and manifest with acuteness, or, rather, with a prophetic gift" (p. 370), this statement is meant not as an appreciation but as a criticism of Nepos.

But does not his own work refute the general point of view of Misch? How

can one study personality and individuality if one ignores particulars? In the case of Cicero's letters, Misch does not do this but makes use of those particulars which apply to his own investigation. The rest, however, he condemns, not stopping to realize that in them may be found the solution of many another problem. To illustrate, the discussion of Roman agrarian legislation by the great Mommsen is faulty in part because he overlooked a reference in a letter to the use of lot in assigning land to veterans (cf. my brief discussion, *Classical Philology*, XXV [1930], 279). The point of view of Misch can find some excuse in the use made of details by those who allow them to obscure the larger issues. Thus, Cicero's revelations of his weaknesses have caused many to overlook his better qualities, but surely here the fault is not with the material but with the interpreters. Yet there is an even more fundamental point at issue. It is felt that too much intimacy and the realization that the great possess weaknesses detract from their greatness. Therefore, Misch is glad that he need not consider Plato's *Seventh Letter* as genuine, for then "we have no need to allow our conception of Plato as a man to be lowered by this letter attributed to him" (p. 154).

It is necessary to protest against this point of view on several grounds. In the first place, a historian should never be afraid to face the evidence; if the greatness of a supposedly great man vanishes when the details of his life become known, it will have to go. In the second place, acquaintance with the redeeming weaknesses and vices of the great should not destroy their greatness but, as it were, bring them closer to us and make us appreciate better their real value. In the third place, a study of personality and of awareness of personality should be based on the observation of individuals as they really are and not, so to speak, divorced from reality. Certainly, there are those who, like some interpreters of Cicero, become too absorbed in details and scandal, but Misch himself has shown that this is not necessary.

Professor Misch, to conclude, has produced a work of considerable acumen of interest primarily for its theories and philosophy rather than for its contribution to the study of history. Yet, even those historians who feel that the individual cannot be studied with complete success by one who regards him primarily as a "characteristic whole," will find much that is stimulating and valuable.

University of Chicago

J. A. O. LARSEN

THE VEDIC AGE. By R. C. Majumdar, general editor, and A. D. Pusalker, assistant editor. [The Bhāratiya Itihāsa Samiti's History and Culture of the Indian People, Volume I.] (London: George Allen and Unwin; New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. 565. \$8.00.)

THIS is the first book of a history of India being compiled in Bombay by the Bhāratiya Itihāsa Samiti (Indian Historical Association) and to be completed in ten volumes. Of the introductory chapters to this volume those on the nature,

sources, and geographical background of Indian history are written by the general editor of the series, R. C. Majumdar. I particularly recommend the first, for I have seldom seen so well expressed both the value that may be derived from a scientific study of Indian history and the danger which prejudices, on the one side Indian and on the other Western, oppose to this type of study.

The long introductory section of this volume also contains outlines of Indian archaeology, geology, flora, and fauna. The remainder of the book is given over to prehistory (*ca.* 60 pages) and to the Vedic period (*ca.* 300 pages).

In making a general estimate of *The Vedic Age* it is natural to compare it with the first volume of the *Cambridge History of India*, now almost thirty years old. The present work has two noticeable advantages. First, the material is treated in greater detail than in the older work and more emphasis is laid on cultural history, for example on religion and philosophy. Second, it can and usually does make use of the increase in knowledge that has been won in the last three decades. In some fields this increase is very considerable. As an example one may cite the archaeological work on the Indus Valley civilization, the results of which are surveyed in chapters III, VII, and IX. On the other hand, the bibliographies, with the exception of that on chapter IX, are more "selective" and less useful than one might have hoped. Again, although most of the contributions to the new history are well done, there is more than one chapter which falls below the standard of the older work. By way of justifying these remarks let me refer to the work of three contributors only.

The work of B. K. Ghosh impressed me more and more favorably as I read the book. His chapters on language are comprehensive, well-annotated, and seem to this reviewer basically sound. His contributions on Vedic literature will prove valuable to laymen and specialists alike. Especially praiseworthy are his translations, which remain as literal as possible (how rarely one can say this of translations from the Veda!) and yet are capable, as in the great earth hymn or the prayer for concord from the Atharvaveda (pp. 410-12), of giving the reader a sense of the literary power of the original.

V. M. Apte deals with a wide range of subjects: political and legal institutions, religion and philosophy, social and economic conditions. His chapters on these subjects are divided according to period: Rigvedic, the later Samhitās, and the age of the Upanishads and Sūtras. I find him best on the latest period, his own special field, where he gives a useful summary of known facts to which he has added more than one discovery of his own. But his chapter XIX is disappointing. Many pages of it are simply a cento drawn from Heinrich Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben*. Much of Zimmer's work, although it is now seventy years old, is still valid, but the method of borrowing produces a jerky effect and one has a right to expect fresher fare. Disappointing also is the fact that none of this borrowing is acknowledged.

Of A. D. Pusalkar's chapter on "Traditional History from the Earliest Time

to the Accession of Parīkshit" I cannot refrain from the strongest censure. The general editor warns us (p. 27) that traditional history "must not be confused with history proper." But no such doubt besets the author of the chapter himself. He accepts the Puranic statement that Parīkshit was born 1,015 years before the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda (*ca.* 382 B.C.). Since legend has Parīkshit born the year the Bhārata War ended, Pusalkar derives the date 1397 B.C. for the end of the Bhārata War (p. 269). Traveling back from here he accepts ninety-five Puranic generations before coming to the reign of Manu Vaivasvata (the Indian Noah). Taking one generation to equal eighteen years (Pargiter's figure, which Pusalkar has expressly disregarded for the period between Parīkshit and Mahāpadma) he arrives at 3110 B.C. for the rule of Manu. "This date, viz. 3110 B.C., curiously enough, approaches 3102 B.C. which has been taken as the beginning of the hypothetical Kali age for astronomical calculations. There is no doubt that the date 3102 B.C. signifies some important and epoch-making event in the traditional history of India" (p. 269). We are not long kept in suspense; the epoch-making event soon turns out to be the mundane flood (p. 270). Kings of the Puranic dynasties are dated accordingly: Yayāti 3010 B.C., Mandhātṛ 2740 B.C., and so on. Presumably it is such a travesty of logic that leads Pusalkar elsewhere (p. 194) to find it "not unlikely that the Rigveda represents an earlier phase of the culture found in the Indus valley," thus pushing back the date of the Rigveda to the fourth millennium, that is, at least 1,500 years beyond what is warranted by the evidence of both language and archaeology. The clearest evidence is that offered by a comparison of war chariots as they appear in the Rigveda with representations from Asia Minor, Egypt, and the Aegean. The war-car with spoked wheels drawn by horses first appears in Mesopotamia early in the second millennium before Christ. It reaches the Aegean and Egypt about 1500 B.C. The Vedic type, as Stuart Piggott has shown comprehensively in his *Prehistoric India*, parallels the Aegean or even later types down to the most minute details (e.g., single felly, lashing of the pole to the yoke, etc.).

For the sake of brevity I have passed over many chapters without criticism. Yet they deserve praise, for they have helped to make *The Vedic Age* a valuable compilation despite its few serious faults. One hopes that the future volumes of the series may live up to the best parts, for they are very good, of this initial effort.

Harvard University

DANIEL H. H. INGALLS

EXCAVATIONS AT GÖZLÜ KULE, TARSUS. Volume I, THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS. Edited by *Hetty Goldman*. [A Publication of the Institute for Advanced Study.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1950. Bound in 2 parts: pp. 420, text; 276 plates. \$36.00 per set.)

THE importance and interest of Tarsus of Cilicia from early times until the end of the Roman Empire needs no emphasis. It rested upon a rare combination

of strategic position, fertile territory, and connections by land and sea. In addition, in Roman times scholars and teachers added luster to its name, and Saint Paul immortalized it with his phrase, "a citizen of no mean city." Yet Tarsus and the important region which it led has had little scientific archaeological study and excavation. Professor Goldman and her able group of assistants made an excellent beginning when they chose Gözlü Kule, a mound on the periphery of the classical city, as the site of their excavation. Their purpose was primarily to illuminate the prehistoric and early historic ages of the city, and a number of preliminary reports have made known their success, but in the course of their work they uncovered a series of Roman and Hellenistic strata and found a wide range of objects of no slight archaeological value. These are now published in the form of a final report in the large volumes of text and plates here under discussion.

In form and content these volumes represent everything that the final report of a carefully conducted excavation ought to be. The various chapters have been written by well-qualified specialists in each field. Professor Goldman, who had charge of the excavation as a whole, discusses the building periods, the stratification and the chronology, and wrote the chapter on the terra cotta figurines, and, in collaboration with Miss Frances Follin Jones, also the one on the lamps. Miss D. H. Cox publishes the coins, Miss Virginia Grace the amphora stamps, and Professor A. E. Raubitschek the inscriptions. Carefully prepared tables describe the plans of the buildings and the stratigraphical context of each object. In each of the chapters an analytical introduction is followed by a full descriptive catalogue of the finds, while the volume of plates provides an unusually large body of illustrations, particularly of the amphora stamps, the coins, and the figurines. Every effort has been made to give others the means of testing description and analysis at each point.

The structural remains contribute little to our knowledge of ancient building. They are important in connection with the other finds in establishing the stratigraphic divisions; and even the most elaborate find among them, the pebble mosaic, gives evidence of poor workmanship. What is most striking is the absence of signs of habitation on the site during the Persian period. Even Persian coins are absent. The coins begin with a single bronze of Philip II. They consist almost entirely of bronze and furnish a good representative series of the bronze coinage up to Herennius Etruscus in 251 A.D. Dr. Cox has added a useful survey of the bronze coinage as a whole. Here one point may be remarked. On page 61 it is stated that the title metropolis first "appears on the coins of Tarsus in the reign of Hadrian." (On the last line of page 47 "from" should be read for "to.") This is surprising because the literary evidence suggests that Tarsus acquired the title under Augustus (Strabo 14.5.13; Dio Chrys. 34.7-8). And what should be said about the bronze coin with the head of Augustus and the title metropolis (mentioned in Mionnet 3.624, no. 419), or the silver one with the name, portrait, and titles of Domitian, and the title metropolis and the monogram of Tarsus (British

Museum Catalogue, Cilicia 186, no. 144). Besides the absence of silver coins it is also noticeable that coins of other cities are rare and belong mostly to the region of Tarsus.

The series of lamps has independent value, for although they correspond most closely to the Antiochene series they show the development of a local industry in a little-known region. The pottery provides also its local variants, and a large part of the finds were of local manufacture, even though a great proportion of the known Hellenistic and Roman types are represented. Probably the most striking group is the lead-glazed ware, which flourished briefly in northern Syria and Cilicia before it was brought to the west. Miss Jones has suggested in an earlier study that this was perhaps the ware that Atticus wanted Cicero to send him when he asked for *Rhosica vasa*. In general the wares illustrate the interaction of outside influences and local manufacture in a comparatively poor quarter of Tarsus. The terra cotta figurines tend to reinforce the impression given by the pottery. There are a few pieces of high quality, but workmanship was uneven, manufacture was largely local, and outside influences came in through the makers of molds. The inscriptions are few, fragmentary, and mostly late.

The excavators have published their finds and published them well. It was not a part of their task to speculate upon the historical problems that emerge. Yet there are points that deserve mention. Did the city, which is described as opulent when Alexander came, actually shrink in size or change its site during the Persian period? Or was it merely a matter of chance that the site of Gözlü Kule remained uninhabited then? No certain answer appears. The prevalence of Rhodian amphora stamps not only is proof of Rhodian trade but helps to explain the political interest Rhodes showed in this region when in 188 she attempted to detach Soli from the empire of Antiochus the Great. Moreover, the aspect of Tarsus which these excavations have revealed has some importance for social history. There were no fine public buildings on Gözlü Kule, nor was it a good residential quarter. The simple dwellings, the workshops (the remains of a foundry and of a pottery were excavated), the rarity of silver coins and of the coins of other cities, the large amount of cheap pottery, and the nature of the inscriptions, all indicate that the finds are the remains of the homes and workshops of a poorer part of the population of Tarsus. It happens that Tarsus is one of the few cities in the ancient world in which the lower classes figure in the literary tradition. Termed "linen-weavers" because of the dominant industry, they were keeping the city in turmoil at the time when Dio Chrysostom came to Tarsus. His solution was to urge the Tarsians to abolish the fee of five hundred denarii for citizenship and allow their poorer neighbors to participate in the political life of the city. These excavations have, I believe, supplemented our literary tradition by showing us something of the material remains of life and work among the "linen-weavers" of Tarsus.

CITY-STATE AND WORLD STATE IN GREEK AND ROMAN POLITICAL THEORY UNTIL AUGUSTUS. By *Mason Hammond*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 217. \$4.00.)

For the general reader Hammond's study may be summarized as a discussion first of the rise of an orthodox political theory, built about the ancient city-state and expressed by Plato and Aristotle; and secondly of the conflict of this theory with the actual emergence of the Hellenistic monarchies and the Roman Empire. His central theme, which has its bearing on the conflict of modern nationalism and One World, is the argument that the ancient world was intellectually unable "to escape from a dominant concept and to find a theoretical basis for the world state which had in practice become the necessary form of political organization." The Roman Empire, as a result, was "a government imposed from above and divorced from the governed."

For the student of political theory this work may be recommended as one resting firmly on classical scholarship but designed to be generally read. Though the author is not concerned with political history, he sketches the background against which political theory operated.

The orthodox political theory, in Hammond's terms, called for the organization of men in small states where all citizens participated directly, and in which monarchic, aristocratic, and democratic elements were judiciously mixed; in this system the aristocratic element should predominate. The federal leagues of the Hellenistic Age produced no significant theory, and the factually dominant monarchies received inadequate theoretical justification.

On the Oriental aspects of this justification the strain represented by pseudo-Aristeas might have been noted; and one may have considerable reserve on the argument (from Kaerst) that the Stoics endorsed kingship. Hellenistic monarchies had a repressive effect on the freedom of the individual; as exponents of the essential freedom of the inner man the early Stoics can be argued to have "thought little of kingship as a form of government," as Tarn (*Alexander*, II, 424 ff.) asserts flatly on a different line of reasoning. Consideration of this aspect might lead us to understand why political theorists refused to abandon the orthodox political theory or to direct their minds to justifying Hellenistic autocracy.

More than half the book is devoted to the Roman Republic and the attempts of Polybius and Cicero to analyze the Roman constitution; both the limitations and the contributions of Cicero are carefully discussed. Hammond argues ingeniously, but not convincingly in my judgment, that Augustus was directly indebted to Cicero. Since the book, originally delivered as the Lowell Lectures, must be brief, Hammond does not go into the empire itself. One may note, however, that the theoretical justification of monarchy had interesting developments in this period, and the ideal of a common citizenship in the empire became conscious. In many ways the system of Diocletian and Constantine provided the final ancient answer to the problem of organizing and justifying a world-state, in which the

cities became merely units of local administration. The Germanic kingdoms of later times looked back not to city-state theory but to a system in which large areas were governed by one man with an echeloned bureaucracy.

The bibliography, though brief, is good; notes and index are also present.

University of Illinois

CHESTER G. STARR, JR.

ROMAN POLITICS, 220-150 B.C. By *H. H. Scullard*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 325. \$6.00.)

THIS is a difficult but important book dealing with an equally difficult and important subject. The stream of Roman politics from the beginning of the Second to the eve of the Third Punic War is muddy and tortuous, and only an experienced navigator should attempt this dangerous stretch. Scullard, who has devoted virtually all of his scholarly life to this period, is one of the few persons fully qualified to discuss it.

Although historical analogies are sometimes misleading, it seems admissible to make, as Scullard does, a comparison between the Rome of 220-150 B.C. and the England of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when political power gradually passed from the aristocracy to a somewhat wider group in which "birth and connexion" were keys to public office. On the other hand, it is also essential to remember that in Cato's lifetime Roman politics was dominated not by parties, but by factions. These factions were based on the family and the clan; their size depended upon alliances, marital or otherwise, between families and clans and the extent of the personal obligations of outsiders to the central group. This point Scullard drives home since his whole reconstruction of the political history of the period depends upon it.

Scullard reasons that the political ascendancy of any faction may be gauged by its success at the polls in any given year, sometimes by the sheer number of its representatives elected to the major offices. Thus, in 194 B.C., to cite a conspicuous example, the Scipionic group was definitely in the saddle: Africanus was consul, and his colleague was Ti. Sempronius, "whose father had been consul with his father in 218." Of the six praetors, three were Cornelii and two others (Sex. Digitius and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus) had been intimately associated with Africanus. Factional strength is not always so obvious, but Scullard is able to provide a very plausible reconstruction of the struggles of the Fabians, Aemilians, and Claudians which led to the formation of the groups which he calls Aemilian-Scipionic, Fulvian-Claudian, Servilian-Claudian, Postumian, Popillian, and so on. It is inevitable that lack of evidence on occasion encourages him to unprofitable conjecture, but in most instances he resists the temptation to speculate.

In addition to the fourteen chapters and an epilogue which make up the body of the text, there are four appendixes, entitled (I) "Sources for Senatorial

Politics," (II) "Notes on Cato's Speeches," (III) "Notes, Political and Personal," and (IV) "The Trials of the Scipios." Of these, the second appendix is perhaps most noteworthy. The book ends with lists of consuls and censors, praetors, and several genealogical tables.

There can be no doubt that this is a study of fundamental and permanent importance, one of the most significant contributions to the history of the Roman Republic to be made in recent years.

University of Minnesota

TOM B. JONES

CICERO: THE SECRETS OF HIS CORRESPONDENCE. Two volumes. By *Jérôme Carcopino*. English translation by E. O. Lorimer. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1951. Pp. vii, 275; vi, 279-596. \$7.50.)

THE eminent historian, Jérôme Carcopino, well known for his novel and ingenious solutions of historical problems, has surpassed himself in these volumes. The problem concerns the publication of perhaps the most remarkable collection of letters that the Western world possesses today, the correspondence of Cicero. When and under what conditions were these letters, and particularly the intimate correspondence with Cicero's friend Atticus, made known to the Roman public? Professor Carcopino tries to show that the letters were published in 34-32 B.C. as propaganda—perhaps the masterpiece of propaganda of all time—for the man who proscribed Cicero, Octavian, the future emperor Augustus. Octavian's agents in the selection and editing of the letters are identified as Atticus, who had become Octavian's close friend, and Cicero's son Marcus, whom Octavian had pardoned and honored.

In a detailed analysis of the letters Carcopino tries to show that Atticus and Marcus, under Octavian's tutelage, selected and expurgated the letters in order to strip Cicero in his private life "of every rag of respectability" (p. 42), to show up his vacillations, his duplicity, and his cowardice in public life, to whitewash Caesar and Octavian, and to blacken their enemies. Many reviewers of the French original, which came out in 1947, have pointed out the manner in which Professor Carcopino, in expounding his views, has made his own omissions, as well as his own emendations and interpretations. This reviewer, who sees much in the letters that Carcopino does not see and who considers them a revelation of the virtues as well as the faults of a significant and an essentially lovable individual, refrains from going over the ground again. But it is perhaps worth noting that the average Roman, without Carcopino's ingenious explanations, might have found it hard to see how the letters clear Caesar of the rumor that he was the father of Brutus (pp. 349 ff.) and of Cleopatra's son known as Caesarion (pp. 313 ff.). If that was what Atticus wanted to prove, why didn't he alter the text to make the situation clearer? It is curious that the villain Carcopino makes of Atticus never stoops to outright falsification.

There are, moreover, strong objections to Carcopino's hypothetical reconstruction of the circumstances under which the letters were published. Atticus certainly did keep and in large part arrange the most valuable part of the collection, Cicero's confidential letters to him. This correspondence was still unknown to the public when, about 35-34 B.C., Cornelius Nepos, in his life of Atticus, mentioned the rolls of the letters in Atticus' possession and commented on the historical importance of the collection. Carcopino, who, with a technique borrowed from the detective story, saves this well-known statement to spring it on the reader at the end of the second volume (p. 495), holds that Nepos was writing an advance notice, a "blurb," to rouse interest in the forthcoming publication. But Nepos' additional statement that Cicero in his letters showed ability to divine the future would not have been suitable for the edition that Atticus is supposed to have produced.

Furthermore, Carcopino fails to mention the fact that, while most of the correspondence with Atticus is in chronological order, the letters are unsorted in two places in the collection—in the first eleven letters of Book I and in much of Books XII and XIII, a series of short missives of 46-45 B.C. As Carcopino repeatedly points out, Atticus was a careful scholar. He would have published nothing until his task as editor was finished. The confusion in the correspondence is, to my mind, conclusive proof that these letters were still unpublished when Atticus died in 32 B.C.

As for the letters to Cicero's friends, there is no evidence whatever for the role of the younger Marcus as editor. Carcopino does not appear to realize that in antiquity the sixteen books that we have circulated separately and not as a collection. His theory of a first edition which Marcus had to suppress because Octavian objected to it would, I think, have been abandoned if he had considered carefully all the citations from Cicero's letters in ancient sources, and if he had read Wallace M. Lindsay's work on Nonius Marcellus, the glossographer who quotes from the lost letters to Octavian.

Yet there is much of permanent value in these volumes. Carcopino has argued, to my mind convincingly, against the generally accepted view that the letters to Atticus were not published until the reign of Nero (pp. 19-32), and he has provided support for the belief that some, if not all, of the letters were published as propaganda for Octavian. The private correspondence with Atticus has in it much that is damaging to Cicero's reputation, and I believe that for that reason it was brought out soon after Atticus' death. The letters would have been readily available, for Atticus' only child was the wife of Octavian's chief general and minister, Marcus Agrippa (pp. 464 ff.). Octavian himself may have published the correspondence of Cicero with him, for the fragments of these lost letters reveal pitiable episodes from Cicero's last days, which would have provided justification for Octavian. Books X, XI, and XII of the letters to Cicero's friends may also have been brought out in Octavian's interest, for they contain letters

which reflect on the reputation of Marcus Lepidus, with whom Octavian broke in 36, and of C. Asinius Pollio and T. Munatius Plancus, two men who were closely associated with Mark Antony. Plancus did not leave Antony for Octavian until some time in the year 32, and I agree with Carcopino that these three books may have been published before that date.

The author seems not to have revised his work for the English version, and he evidently did not read the proof. Otherwise he would certainly have caught the recurring misprint *comitia*, the reference to Pompey's consulship instead of Cicero's (p. 11), the description of Caesar's great-niece Octavia as Caesar's "other daughter" (p. 206), the translation of *aristocrates* by "patricians" (p. 312), and the confusion between the *De oratore* and the *Orator* (pp. 340, 479). The translator had to make his own versions from the Latin, and it is no reflection on their accuracy to say that they support Carcopino's interpretations less successfully than the skillful translations in the French text. The problem of English style was difficult, and the result is nothing like so consistent as the vivid style of the French original. This reviewer, who sat up most of the night to read the French text, doubts whether either the specialist or the general reader will find the English version as enthralling.

Bryn Mawr College

LILY ROSS TAYLOR

DE L'UNITÉ À LA DIVISION DE L'EMPIRE ROMAIN, 395-410: ESSAI SUR LE GOUVERNEMENT IMPÉRIAL. By E. Demougeot. (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient. 1951. Pp. xv, 618. \$5.30.)

THIS work of great erudition is to be welcomed as another in the long and steadily growing list of historical works on the early Middle Ages, more specifically the period of the end of antiquity and the beginning of a new way of life in what had been the Western Roman Empire. In the reviewer's opinion the tremendous interest shown in this period and in the problems in which it abounds, chiefly by Continental and British writers, and the importance and solidity of their works in the last quarter of a century mark this era as one of the liveliest and most fertile in historical research today. The names of the scholars who have contributed to this great accumulation of historical learning read like a special page from some *Who's Who* of international historical scholarship—Pirenne, Rostovtzeff, Dopsch, Baynes, Lot, Laistner, Cessi, Mickwitz, Sanchez-Albornoz, Courcelle, Piganiol, Moss, Calmette, Halphen, Schmidt, Marrou, to name but a few. It seems not unlikely that before long a complete roster will include the name of Demougeot.

In her preface Mlle. Demougeot sets forth the view that historical studies of brief periods strictly delimited in chronology have a special value denied to large general works or to studies of one or another aspect of civilization, such as literature or religion, or the biographies of outstanding men of affairs. Short periods of

great importance can be isolated and studied systematically with full attention to established facts. Such a period occurs in the years following the death of the emperor Theodosius I. The year 395 may be considered a turning point in the history of the later empire, for the *partitio imperii* was to be permanent. Early in the fifth century the year 410 is another turning point, for Alaric's capture of Rome marked the beginning of the barbarization of the West. How the separation of East and West came about in the fifteen-year interval is the theme Mlle. Demougeot develops in her detailed study.

Part II, two thirds of the whole, is devoted to "Events and Men between 395 and 410" and it is truly a period "rich in deeds and ideas" (p. xv). Much attention naturally is given to Stilicho's friendly policy in respect of the barbarians, the attempts to hold East and West together, and the antibarbarian movement among Roman "nationalists" that led to Stilicho's execution. Alaric's capture of the city of Rome is retold and it is noteworthy here that the author rejects the view propagated by St. Augustine and Orosius that the Visigoths did relatively little damage in their three days of mastery (pp. 471-77). To the general student of history doubtless the most interesting aspect of this essay will be the careful comparison of East and West at the beginning and end of the period. Mlle. Demougeot grants in Part I of her book that, in 395, the similarity was not always so great as it appears; though unity was preserved, the West was weakening. By 410, considered in Part III, the contrast is inescapable; whereas the East remained strong and prosperous, the deterioration of the West was far advanced.

The book is intended primarily for specialists and the author has consulted recent studies of all kinds, including the American learned journals, with extraordinary thoroughness. There will inevitably be some skepticism about placing the turning point of so vast a historical development in so brief a period. Were not the power and prosperity of the West by 395 much less real even than the author admits? And if a specific date for a significant internal change has to be fixed, it would be difficult to find a better one than 330, when Constantine, the first Christian emperor, moved his capital to the new Rome and named it after himself. The great problem, however, remains the difference in the status of East and West and the historical reasons therefor. Mlle. Demougeot has contributed much by raising this question again and her work will help considerably to supply the answer.

Stanford University

WILLIAM C. BARK

ROMAN RULE IN ASIA MINOR: TO THE END OF THE THIRD CENTURY AFTER CHRIST. Volume I, TEXT; Volume II, NOTES. By *David Magie*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1950. Pp. xxi, 723; 725-1661. \$20.00.)

PROFESSOR Magie's work, the product of more than twenty-five years of con-

centrated study and research, is an extraordinarily valuable contribution to our knowledge of one of the most important sections of the Roman Empire. Other recent works on Asia Minor have tended to stress primarily social and economic factors. Professor Magie has chosen, without neglecting these, to keep the chief emphasis upon the Roman administration, and to allow the various aspects of the development of Asia Minor itself, social, economic, and municipal, which compose an allied and inseparable theme, to appear within the framework provided by the first. The result is a work with an independent emphasis which is at the same time a most important synthesis of the history of Asia Minor in Roman times.

But this alone would be a quite insufficient statement of the value of the work. It is admirably arranged to suit the needs of both the general reader and the critical scholar. The first volume contains the narrative, clearly arranged and written in an easy and lucid style, while in the second the 854 pages of notes do everything that is possible in citation and discussion of ancient sources and modern bibliography, and elucidation of critical questions, to satisfy the needs of specialists. Here is revealed particularly the great strength of the work, the care, comprehensiveness, critical acumen, and caution of the author. It will take a considerable time and many new discoveries to make necessary any serious revision. The materials on which to base differences of opinion or interpretation are there, and the author's very caution will stimulate some to attempt to complete structures the proved and tested parts of which are so clearly marked. One should mention too the wealth of information on allied topics which is contained in many of the notes, such for instance as those on the constitutional and financial arrangements of the Greek cities in chapter III. The task was one of unusual difficulty, not only because of the complexity and variety to be found in Asia Minor but because the literary sources are meager and fragmentary, and the inscriptions and coins are not gathered in any convenient corpus but scattered through hundreds of volumes and scores of journals, while the modern literature is equally scattered and diffused.

The opening chapters contain an excellent review of the history of the Pergamene kingdom, and bring before us the geographical background of the future province of Asia in all its variety of political, social, and economic structure, the Greek cities, the Hellenized communities, the native villages, the tribes and the temple states, and traces their development during the Hellenistic age up to the moment of the Roman annexation. Other chapters perform the same function for other regions as they too came under Roman sway. A fine series of chapters presents the history of Asia Minor under the Roman Republic as a continuous pattern, the annexation, the Gracchan legislation, the Mithridatic wars and their results, Pompey's organization, the civil wars with Caesar's reforms and the sufferings of the country under the Liberators and Antony. The empire brought first a period of recovery in the Augustan age, and then a period of closer integration and partnership in the Roman imperial system as a whole until the

development of cities and the spread of citizenship brought the provinces to a virtual equality with Italy itself. This process of integration appears in the account of the annexation of the client kingdoms, the organization of the frontier defenses, the tendency of the Roman government, while encouraging and developing the cities, to bring them to a single norm and pattern in relation to the regime. It is interesting to note how it has imposed itself upon the form and proportions of this book. The background material requires about 150 pages, and it takes about 300 to carry the discussion through little more than a century from the death of Attalus III to the beginning of the empire, while the three centuries of the empire require only another 300. Moreover, the earlier part falls naturally into an independent narrative about Asia Minor very largely as a separate unit, but the evidence for the period of the empire, though vast in amount, tends to fall into largely unrelated parcels the full meaning of which comes out only as they are related to the general conditions and trends of imperial policy. The author has met the demands of this pattern. See, for example, the discussion of Hadrian's monetary policy (pp. 623, 628 f.).

It is difficult and perhaps unfair to select points for special mention. The author's emphasis on geographical factors, especially important in Asia Minor, on lines of communication, on the significance of changes and repairs to these, and his careful description of boundary lines, all are wholly admirable. He rightly agrees with Jones in minimizing the original extent and importance of the temple lands in western Asia Minor, and rightly sees that the Hellenistic kings did not despoil temples but rather, as the inscription recently found at Aezani reveals, tended to support them (pp. 1016-18). It is clearly recognized that Pompey's city foundations were primarily intended as administrative centers and only secondarily as urbanizing agents. Pompey's position at the end of the Mithridatic wars as a sort of patron with all the East in clientage deserves a bit more emphasis. The discussions of the status and development of the cities are especially noteworthy, particularly those on their relations with the Roman government in the second century before Christ (pp. 103 ff.), and the survey of their condition in the Antonine period (pp. 630 ff.). The work concludes with useful lists of governors and other officials, the more useful because Chapot's lists for Asia are not arranged in chronological order and are now incomplete.

Significantly, suggestions and objections arise mainly about points of detail. I present here a few, drawn in part from recent studies of my own. Much of northern Phrygia about Dorylaeum is practically timberless today (see p. 50), and though fine timbered tombs of an early period are now being found at Gordium the lack of trees in the region of Dorylaeum was known in Cicero's time (Cic. *Flacc.* 41, the man of Dorylaeum who had never seen a tree). The Bithynian marble mentioned by Pliny (*Epist.* 10.41) may perhaps be the Potamogallene variety named in the newly discovered Aphrodisias fragments of Diocletian's edict setting maximum prices. The reviewer believes that the traditional dating of *OGIS* 435 in 133 is correct, and that Passerini has correctly dated the *S. C. de*

Agro Pergameno to 129 (see pp. 1033, n. 1, and 1055, n. 25), that the Third Mithridatic War probably began in 74, and the proconsulate of Lucullus in Asia by or before the beginning of 73 (see pp. 1204, n. 5, and 1127, n. 47). Scaevola's proconsulate is dated in 94 after his consulate instead of 97 to bring it nearer in time to the trial of his legate Rutilius in 92, yet in that period Norbanus was tried in 94 for offenses he probably committed in 103. The presence of Oppius in southern Asia Minor in 88 is rather against the view that there was no regularly organized province of Cilicia before the Mithridatic wars (p. 1162, n. 12). If however this view is correct L. Gellius should be placed in the list of governors of Asia as a proconsul in 93, since his colleague in the praetorship of 94 became governor of Macedonia, the other organized province in the East. The title proconsul was so frequently given to ex-praetors in provincial commands, especially in Spain but often elsewhere, that I doubt if it should be termed incorrect (p. 1242, n. 1; see now Jashemski, *The Origin and History of the Proconsular and Praetorian Imperium*, Chicago, 1950). It is not clear that Gabinius, consul in 58, had the cognomen Capito (p. 298; see *CIL* 1².2.2500). The Fabius who was governor of Asia in 57-56 (p. 383) should probably be distinguished from the man who was a legate under Caesar. The latter probably held the tribunate in 55 and was one of the authors of the *Lex Mamilia Roscia Alliena Peducaea Fabia*. I doubt Wilhelm's explanation of the word *koinonia* in the inscription of Pogla of Pisidia (p. 1317, n. 25; see *IGRP* 3.409) as a charitable foundation. The inscription describes a public career and a contrast is drawn between the years of the *politeia* and the years of the *koinonia*. When the word *koinon* in Asia Minor so frequently designates a union of villages the contrast between the years when Pogla was *koinon* and the years when it was a *polis* seems almost mandatory.

In two passages (pp. 629, 687) the author expresses the view that the Antonine policy of extending the citizenship and of equalizing the provinces with Italy and "the ruled with those who had been their rulers," was the precursor of the dissolution and decay of the Roman world. The reviewer is inclined to a more optimistic interpretation. That same process, begun under Caesar and extended greatly from Claudius on, gradually won the loyalty of the whole Roman world, and enabled the empire to survive so long, both as an empire and as a symbol of a strong, secure, and united world. These remarks however are largely concerned with matters of opinion and interpretation, and do not detract from the solid worth of a thorough, comprehensive, and careful work which has placed all historians of the Roman Empire very greatly in debt to Professor Magie.

Bryn Mawr Collège

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

CROWN, COMMUNITY, AND PARLIAMENT IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES: STUDIES IN ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY. By Gaillard T. Lapsley. Edited by Helen M. Cam and Geoffrey Barraclough.

[Studies in Mediaeval History, No. 6.] (Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1951. Pp. xiii, 420. 25s.)

So long has Gaillard Lapsley been identified with England that the present generation may well be reminded that he was a native of New York City, graduated at Harvard, and then, after studying law, took his doctorate in history under Gross—his “master,” as he always called him. In 1904 he went to England and in due course became university reader in constitutional history at Cambridge. Yet he kept his American citizenship and spent his last years in New England.

Lapsley belonged to that happy generation of teachers and researchers who, at the turn of the century, were touched by Maitland’s “flash of genius,” were devouring the introductions to the Selden Society Publications, the commentary on the “Records” of the 1305 parliament, and discovering the wealth of constitutional history in Pollock and Maitland. His apprenticeship in law and under Gross exactly fitted him to grow aware of Maitland’s glory, and later of McIlwain’s great thesis. Parliament became his theme, but parliament related to the crown, to administration, and to the local communities. Stubbs’s volumes were no longer sacrosanct, and Lapsley entered vigorously into the “seventy-five years after Stubbs.” He was in the turmoil of research along with such notables as Tout, Pollard, Pasquet, Cam, Baldwin, Kern, Richardson, Sayles, Gray, Willard, Plucknett, Chrimes. His century is *par excellence* the fourteenth, and in his articles and reviews, while we feel a dash of the polemical, much of the “analysis of minutiae,” and the etymological urge, there is above all the sane, pliable, untiring search for truth. Few scholars illustrate better the delicacy of caution in word and thought which is instinct in all of Maitland’s work.

We may venture to hang much on the latest (1941) of the nine essays here republished, “The Interpretation of the Statute of York.” After a convincing argument against the more recent financial interpretation of the critical word *estat* in the conclusion of the statute, it seems demonstrated that there was a conscious attempt to place on the broadest parliamentary basis all the more fundamental legislation. This appears in the crises of 1327, 1341 (the subject of Essay VI), 1376, 1388, and 1399, where there was parliamentary action, “as the Statute of York intended.” It is the editors’ feeling that Lapsley’s work culminated in the most famous of his essays, “The Parliamentary Title of Henry IV,” “in which he, so to say, set the seal on his studies of fourteenth century government by undermining the foundations of Stubbs’ Lancastrian Experiment.” But even so, Lapsley concludes his argument that no legal parliament existed at the moment when Henry assumed the crown by asserting that he “could have had a complete and technically correct parliamentary title and that his supporters intended the revolution should be accomplished in that way.”

Outside the fourteenth century, we have the study dealing with Bracton’s well-known and puzzling mention of the local *Buzones*, in which, as in the

following essay, the author studies the activities in the communities. Later in the thirteenth century, there is the essay on the familiar rusty sword episode of the Earl Warenne, in which Lapsley ran a delightful tilt against the redoubtable Round on the field of historical method. Latest of all in period, but the earliest written (1900), is "The Problem of the North," in which it is shown that the Council of the North was no *ad hoc* creation of Henry VIII's to meet the disturbances incident to the protestant revolution, but was grounded on the age-old history of march organization and march law.

To name the titles of these studies—most of them appearing in the *English Historical Review*—or to show the crises or incidents about which they center, indicates comparatively little of their substance and value. Their author entered profoundly into the sources and literature of his field and knew all its phases. He who reads or re-reads them will feel a full-bodied awareness of the English "constitution *im werden*," as the author phrased it, and of the continuing work of English and American scholars. Essay I, "Some Recent Advance in English Constitutional History," is more than a critical bibliography. In this framework Lapsley revealed his "theory of the medieval constitution and the nature of its principal organs and their relation to each other."

As life passed and achievement accumulated, Lapsley felt that a synthesis was due. But there seemed always something to add, more positions to defend. Ill health overtook him and he gratefully entrusted this collection to editors whom he counseled and advised. It is obvious that more able and sympathetic editors could not have been found. With skill and great fidelity to the author, they have included his own annotations, selected and arranged his work, and brought bibliographical references to date.

Each specialist in this field will of course have his own reaction to the theories and conclusions here presented, but all will feel the sincerity and great importance of Lapsley's lifework. While acutely wary of generalizations or premature conclusions, there was not a trace in him of the cynic or defeatist in facing the deeds and thoughts of men of other times. He actually believed it possible to make continuing advances toward finding out "exactly how it was."

University of Minnesota

A. B. WHITE

Modern European History

LES DEBUTS DE LA PRESSE FRANÇAISE: NOUVEAUX APERÇUS. By *Folke Dahl*, Conservateur Adj. à la Bibliothèque municipale et Universitaire de Göteborg; *Fanny Petibon*, Conservateur Adj. à la Bibliothèque nationale; *Marguerite Boulet*, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit de Nancy. [Acta Bibliothecae Gotoburgensis, Vol. IV.] (Göteborg: Wettergren & Kerber; Paris: Librairie Raymann. 1951. Pp. viii, 75. Kr. 750; 500 fr.)

As the editor of this volume has stated, the history of newspapers has only

recently received the serious attention of scholars. Significant studies of the early dissemination of news by means of the printing press have been few in number, since research in the field ideally requires the co-operation of many experts working in different countries and trained in many special techniques. The present volume modestly claims, with some justification, to fulfill these exacting requirements.

The three contributors to this volume examine the exact circumstances surrounding the beginnings of French newspapers, and all deny Hatin's dictum that Renaudot originated such literature when he founded the *Gazette* in 1631. In the first essay, "Les premiers journaux en français," Mr. Dahl applies to French newspapers the thesis which he earlier used with success relative to those in English. He finds that the first true French newspapers were simply French translations of the news sheets of well-established Dutch commercial houses. Mr. Dahl proves the existence of such a French newspaper, the *Courant d'Italie et d'Almaigne*, etc., during the 1620's, with presumption that it existed during several decades.

More important, the remaining three essays treat the circumstances surrounding the establishment of a regular news press in Paris during the 1630's, and particularly the struggle between Renaudot and the *corporation des libraires, imprimeurs et relieurs* over the rights to issue news publications. The existence of this controversy has been previously known, but the discovery of many key documents has permitted it here to be completely rewritten. The details are pieced together in three essays whose titles suggest the argument: "Découverte d'un journal parisien antérieur à la *Gazette* de Renaudot" by Folke Dahl, "Les précurseurs de Renaudot à Paris, Martin et Vendosme" by Fanny Petibon, and "Le plagiat de Renaudot" by Marguerite Boulet. Herein it is shown that there existed prior to Renaudot's *Gazette* a similar weekly publication, the *Nouvelles ordinaires de divers endroits*, published by Jean Martin and Louis Vendosme under the privileges of the corporation mentioned above. However, Renaudot, already high in Richelieu's favor, was issued an unprecedented privilege giving him a monopoly over all Parisian newspapers. The ensuing struggle lasted several years and included plagiarism by both parties, the buying out of key personnel, and the usual jurisdictional disputes between the courts of customary law and the *Conseil du roi*. In the end, Renaudot triumphed completely because of royal favor, and his *Gazette* became the recognized mouthpiece of the government. Thus is unfolded another historical episode showing how Richelieu overrode traditional constitutional forms when it suited his purpose, and how, realizing the power of the press over public opinion, he was determined to keep control of it by giving exclusive rights of news publication to a trusted royal servant. The essays thus provide new insight into the forces which channeled public opinion in support of early seventeenth-century absolutism. The studies represent the fruit of disciplined scholarship and should be regarded as authoritative in their field.

Brown University

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

A DOCUMENTARY SURVEY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By *John Hall Stewart*, Associate Professor of History, Western Reserve University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. xxviii, 818. \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR Stewart's book will fill a place that no other has ever quite occupied. It resembles Anderson's, its best-known predecessor, in being limited to official documents, but it is much fuller, with 170 documents compared to 56 in Anderson for the same years. It differs from Legg, the only other comparable anthology, in that where Legg leaves his documents in French and covers only the two years from 1789 to 1791, Stewart has translated his into fluent English and covers the whole decade to 1799. It differs from both, and may be uniquely valuable, in that the editor, without sacrifice to the documents, which are unabridged, has written extensive connecting passages of his own. Hence the book may serve as either textbook or source book.

Criticism of such a volume falls largely on purely optional matters. A reviewer's opinions may, however, serve the constructive purpose of showing what the book actually is. It is a collection of official and public papers of the French revolutionary governments, indeed mainly of legislative and constitutional enactments, though *cahiers*, speeches, and treaties are also represented. The limitations of such a principle of selection are evident, and sometimes the author has broken through them, as when he gives excerpts from Sieyès famous pamphlet on the Third Estate, or from the writings of Babeuf. More such unofficial material would in principle have given a more rounded picture but would in practice have resulted in both too big and too diluted a book. As for legislative documents, a broad point of view has presided over their selection, with especial attention to economic and cultural matters. Of subjects of the highest importance, possibly the only one to be under-represented is the disposition and resale of confiscated wealth. Within the general category of official papers, more space might have been given to executive, as distinguished from legislative and constitutional, documents; for example, to the work of the Subsistence Commission, instructions to military commanders or civilian commissioners, or the decree of the Convention ordering the destruction of rebellious Lyons. More such material, along with more on the counter-revolution both in France and outside France, might have lent more of an air of effort and struggle to the Revolution. As it is, the student of this book, or at least the beginning student, may form an impression of the Revolution such as that for which Aulard was criticized half a century ago. It was said of Aulard that, relying mainly on official sources, he thought of the Revolution as an essentially parliamentary phenomenon, or at least one that took place within the halls of political assemblies.

Professor Stewart attributes the inspiration for the present volume to conversations with the late Carl Becker years ago. He has worked at it ever since, he has done all the selecting and translating himself, and it is doubtful whether any other American scholar either would or could have brought it to so successful a

conclusion. Carrying on the tradition of Henry E. Bourne at Western Reserve, and adding to the effect of his own highly useful bibliography of relevant works in Cleveland libraries, he has again signalized himself and Cleveland as a main center of French Revolutionary studies in America.

Princeton University

R. R. PALMER

LES INSTITUTIONS DE LA FRANCE SOUS LA RÉVOLUTION ET L'EMPIRE. By *Jacques Godechot*, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres et à l'Institut d'Etudes politiques de Toulouse. [Histoire des Institutions, Collection dirigée par Louis Halphen.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1951. Pp. viii, 687. 1.800 fr.)

It seems strange that anyone has ever really worried over the fractionalizing, the compartmentalizing, of learning. Of course the reason is clear enough: here as elsewhere the worrier looks at what men say they want to do instead of at what they are doing. In the real doing, what happens is that the specialist simply tries to take over the whole, drawn by a naïve but fruitful sort of imperialism of field. Thus economic history comes to recognize it is dealing with human beings, begins to edge over into intellectual history, begins to absorb some social psychology—and ends up by being history *tout court*.

So too is it, to judge by Professor Godechot's excellent study, with the history of institutions. That specialty, after a slight nominal decline in the heyday of social and intellectual history, is rising again. But in Professor Godechot's hands it comes to something much more than the older analysis of administrative subdivisions, political frames of action, and the like. He starts with an analysis of "*les idées nouvelles à la fin du XVIII^e siècle*," goes on to describe the origins and redaction of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, and then in four major subdivisions discusses the Constitutional Monarchy, the Revolutionary Government, the Bourgeois Republic (Directory), and the Military Dictatorship (Consulate and Empire). In each case he pays due attention to political institutions, but in total rather more to social and economic institutions, to business, finance, religion, education, poor relief, the family. His bibliographies, which follow the not altogether convenient pattern set by the Lavisserie series and appear as footnotes at the beginning of sections and subsections, are extremely full. And here, certainly, his subject is almost literally the history of France, 1789–1815. These footnotes stand at the moment as probably the best and most up-to-date bibliography of the subject, foreign affairs and military institutions excepted. Professor Godechot has been exceptionally alert in following work done in other languages than French, and notably in English. He adds to many of his bibliographical paragraphs a suggestive list of "*questions à étudier*." One wishes all the more to see these scattered bibliographical paragraphs all put together in one place.

This is, in short, an admirable advanced manual for the study of all but the more dramatic and personal history of the French Revolution and Empire. It is fair-minded and quite unexplosive even on religious questions. In fact, anyone brought up to recognize the atmosphere of the *école officielle* of Aulard finds himself almost bewildered by this evidence of the inroads of historical-mindedness and objectivity into what was once a most sectarian group. But *Clio* is surely the gainer.

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

NAPOLEON AND THE DARDANELLES. By *Vernon J. Puryear*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1951. Pp. 437. \$5.00.)

EVER since Peter the Great pushed his campaign of conquest toward the Danube, the Black Sea, and the Caucasus, the Straits question has been the hinge on which the Eastern question turned. Yet, not until the appearance of a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean in 1771 and the signature of the treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji in 1774 did the situation become one of the major factors in European international affairs. When Bonaparte in 1798 decided to substitute for an invasion of Britain his Egyptian campaign in order to short-circuit the long British line of communication with India, Russia promptly sent a fleet through the Bosphorus to the Ionian Islands. The failure of Bonaparte's expedition and later the Peace of Amiens postponed French and British interventions in the Levant.

The first great crisis of the Eastern and Straits questions in the nineteenth century was precipitated by the outbreak of the War of the Third Coalition. Both France and Britain realized that their intervention in the Levant had become of serious import. Though, as emperor, Napoleon reverted to his interest in the short route to India, the British forestalled him. Following Nelson's victory at Trafalgar they restored their naval supremacy in the Mediterranean. In 1807 Sir John Duckworth did force the passage of the Dardanelles only to find it discreet to withdraw promptly, as was likewise done from a brief occupation of Alexandria. Even so France could not challenge the British fleet in the Mediterranean. In Persia Sir John Malcolm and Harford Jones, British agents sent from India, proved successful.

Napoleon, on his side, sent General Horace Sebastiani as ambassador to Constantinople and General Antoine Gardane to Teheran. The former's brilliant and energetic activities were responsible for Duckworth's failure to reach Constantinople, but Napoleon himself sacrificed the advantage at Tilsit and Sebastiani returned dejectedly to France. In Persia, a false move by Gardane lost the game, but the romantic interest of his mission remains undiminished. Whatever else may be said of Napoleon's maneuvers at Tilsit, he bungled the Straits question by offering the tsar freedom of the Straits, though at Erfurt he cut his offer in

half in order to reserve the Dardanelles for himself. No less serious was his failure to undertake the development of a land route to India across the Balkan peninsula to the Dardanelles and thence eastward. Basic was his decision to come to terms with the tsar rather than with the Habsburg emperor. It was grim irony that the Crimean War was later waged by Britain allied with Napoleon III. Which was wiser: uncle or nephew?

Professor Puryear's interest became focused on the Straits question while preparing his doctoral dissertation. Between 1931 and 1941 he published three volumes dealing with this problem in the middle of the nineteenth century, each of which received a deservedly favorable review in this journal. Given time, it was inevitable that he should turn attention to the very dramatic and significant earlier phases of this problem, as he has done in the present volume. Like Driault in *La politique orientale de Napoleon* (1904) he has centered his attention on the years 1806, 1807, and 1808, but, more extensively than Driault, has relied on archival materials both manuscript and printed. He has not only utilized the wealth of documentary material printed within the last fifty years but has also accomplished far more extensive research in the archives than did Driault. The author's systematic treatment is very helpful as he devotes eighteen chronological chapters to the period from 1802 to 1815, thirteen of which deal with the years 1806 to 1809, and divides each chapter on a geographical or topical basis with excellent introductory and concluding paragraphs, but unfortunately the printer has failed to provide proper indications of the chapter subdivisions. There is a good index and a very useful bibliography.

The problem of presenting his mass of data has limited the author to revealing the how of history at the expense of the why of history and to things done rather than to the doers, but he has admirably demonstrated how the diplomacy of the Napoleonic period was conducted. The style is succinct, orderly, clear, and precise. No one will read the volume consecutively, but historical students will frequently consult it with gratitude, for it is an outstanding contribution to the diplomatic history of the time.

Wesleyan University

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER

MODERN FRANCE: PROBLEMS OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH REPUBLICS. Edited by *Edward Mead Earle*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 522. \$6.00.)

It is clear that the Fourth Republic is in an unheroic mood, that its government is animated by a fearful and quasi-Directory spirit hostile to a new August 4 from the Left and an 18 Brumaire from the Right, and that it has taken a stand on the proposition that to temporize is to make progress and to tackle problems head on is to court the danger of civil strife. What is the background for this state of affairs, how explain it, what are the probabilities of its continuation?

There are no final answers in this admirable symposium under consideration, but much valuable data, balanced judgments, insight, and some clues. The volume incorporates the formal papers that were presented early in 1950 at a three-day conference held in Princeton on the problems of modern France. To the contributors, the sponsoring institutions, and in particular to Edward Mead Earle, the *deus ex machina*, students stand greatly indebted. If the authors make no prophecies about the solution of the besetting problems which the Third Republic failed to solve and with which the Fourth Republic is resolutely not coming to grips, their discussion nevertheless illuminates the complexities and the difficulties of the task ahead. Without attempting to do justice to individual contributors, one should note that they are in substantial agreement that the most that can be said for the Fourth Republic now is that it is marking time. However, they would not agree were the question oversimplified and bluntly put in the following form: Is marking time to gain it or to lose it? All take note of the extraordinary persistence of the nineteenth-century pattern of behavior, including that emotionally gratifying and pragmatically frustrating practice of coping with today's needs in terms of the divisive sentiments of yesterday. But while some tend to stress weaknesses and contradictions, others see France making a virtue of necessity and displaying flexibility and vitality in pursuing a temporizing course.

Most of the articles do not address themselves directly to this problem but in different ways throw out suggestions concerning its solution. On the whole the articles on politics, foreign policy, and social-economic developments are the most interesting and the most valuable—although the thought-provoking study of business and the businessman by D. S. Landes must at least be mentioned. Read together and compared with one another, they provide useful clues to an understanding of the present dilemma.

E. W. Fox's article on the Third Force might be singled out in that it poses the central issue most clearly. His main point is that temporizing has worked in the past, even if at a high price. The historic Center-Right policy of avoiding revolution by consent did satisfy or was suffered by enough Frenchmen and well enough to see the Republic through from 1896 to 1939 without overwhelming civil strife. The key postulate of the several Center-Right blocs, that the true solution lay in defending the republican form of government and in trying to compose class differences within the frame of the existing parliamentary forms, was in part a convenient rationalization to which the dominant bourgeoisie could comfortably resign itself. The policy was accepted on sufferance and it operated precariously. Is it likely that the successor of the Third Republic can also survive, even gather strength, by staggering along?

Fox does not go beyond 1939, but a series of articles on the post-Liberation period points to the contrary. Those are the admirable articles by H. E. Ehrmann on the failure of the Socialist party; Val R. Lorwin on the Communist capture of the trade unions; G. Wright on the Communist infiltration into the peasantry;

R. F. Byrnes on the decline of the Christian Democrats; and H. S. Hughes on Gaullism. They point to the contrary in the long run, but for the present a Center-Right bloc is in power, thanks to some out-and-out electoral gerrymandering. It can retain power, the analyses make clear, if a *détente* between the United States bloc and the USSR bloc eases the crushing fiscal burden, and if the directors of domestic policy pursue (which is unlikely) a farsighted, generous, and imaginative course of social reform. The two articles by H. B. Hill and F. L. Hadsel on France's European policy find merit and strength in what she has done since 1947. Their assumption, like that of the volume in general, is the necessity of French governmental adherence to the American conception of the proper course to pursue toward the USSR. But not all Frenchmen accept the validity of that interpretation, and it would have been interesting to have an article developing the implications of an alternative conception. The reviewer regrets also the absence of some discussion of the clear if not present danger of Neo-Vichyism, and of a realistic treatment of the relations between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forces in French political life. But these are minor cavils that would not impair the reader's admiration for this outstanding work of American scholarship.

New York University

LEO GERSHOY

RAPPORT FAIT AU NOM DE LA COMMISSION CHARGÉE D'ENQUÊTER SUR LES ÉVÉNEMENTS SURVENUS EN FRANCE DE 1933 À 1945. Par *Charles Serre*, Rapporteur général, Député. Première partie: LES ÉVÉNEMENTS DU 7 MARS 1936. ANNEXES (DÉPOSITIONS). [Assemblée Nationale, Première Législature, Session de 1947, No. 2344.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1951. Pp. 167; 1-836 [3 vols. of *Annexes*].)

In 1946 the French National Constituent Assembly appointed a commission of forty-two deputies and eighteen representatives of Resistance organizations, veterans, and "victims of war and fascism," to inquire into the "political, economic, diplomatic and military events which, from 1933 to 1945, preceded, accompanied, and followed the armistice, in order to determine the responsibilities incurred and to propose, if there is cause, political and judicial sanctions." The commission, after extensive hearings in 1947 and 1948 and additional investigations, undertook to publish its findings and conclusions in a report of four parts: (1) the German reoccupation of the Rhineland, 1936; (2) the formation of the Rome-Berlin axis, the war in Spain, Austro-German *Anschluss*, and the Munich agreement, 1936-38; (3) the outbreak of war and the operations of the French armies, September, 1939, to the armistice; and (4) the armistice and the overthrow of the Republic. The book considered here is Part I of the report and three volumes of the verbatim testimony before the commission.

This report, a brief ninety pages in length, summarily reviews French foreign

and domestic policy from 1919 to 1936 and recounts in detail the reaction of the French government to the German re-entry into the demilitarized zone of the Rhineland in 1936. There are no startling revelations here nor in the appended documents, which include the minutes of two meetings of the *Conseil supérieur de la Guerre* in 1935 and 1936 and a number of secret reports on the state of the French and German armies in 1934 and 1935. As one would expect from such a multiparty group, the conclusions are general. Partisan strains within the commission are carefully concealed, and no accusations are made against persons or parties.

The commission concluded that the French government failed to act in the national interest when it did not forcibly expel the German army from the demilitarized zone and neither international legal restrictions nor British pressure for a diplomatic settlement but only the inability of the French army to carry out the necessary operation prevented the use of force. Since 1919 the army had not been reorganized or re-equipped to make it an effective instrument of France's postwar policy of security through collective agreements. It was, as in 1914, a citizen army, designed to meet a mass invasion; it was incapable of undertaking a police action in enforcement of international agreements. In assessing responsibility for this fatal cleft between military and foreign policies the commission blamed the army for its willful failure to understand the policies of the civil government and for its resistance to technical innovation; but the commission also held the civil government responsible—by its surrender of control of military policy to military men and by its pursuance of a foreign policy that put too much faith in paper agreements to the neglect of definite commitments to military action against aggressors. The commission reported, however, no evidence of violation of laws nor disloyalty and recommended no "political or judicial sanctions."

The three volumes of testimony are not restricted to the subject of Part I of the commission's report but range over the whole period from 1933 to the armistice of 1940. Eighteen men, including Daladier, Blum, Reynaud, Gamelin, Weygand, Petain, and Sarraut, appeared before the commission. Each, except Petain, made a long, prepared statement (Sarraut's ran to some ninety pages, Gamelin's to seventy) and then answered specific questions from members of the commission. In contrast to the report itself the testimony is an important addition to the published sources on European diplomatic history of the period, and it illuminates a number of obscure points of French history in the 1930's and 1940's: for example, the crisis of February 1934; Sarraut's German policy in March, 1936; Blum's conduct of relations with Spain in 1936; military operations in 1940; and the decision to seek an armistice in 1940.

University of Missouri

DAVID H. PINKNEY

HISTOIRE DE GENÈVE DES ORIGINES À 1798. (Geneva: Alexandre Jullien for Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève. 1951. Pp. x, 564.)

At a time when France is celebrating the two thousandth anniversary of Paris it is interesting to read of a city in Switzerland, Geneva, which had existed as a settlement for several thousand years before Caesar finally mentioned it in his *Bellum Gallicum*. This bulky and handsomely printed volume represents the fulfillment of an old dream of the Historical and Archaeological Society of Geneva, which long ago had hoped that its indefatigable preparatory labors some day would allow it to undertake this vast synthesis of the history of Geneva. Its twenty-seven chapters were written by more than twenty scholars and specialists, and it can surely be said that this book represents the last word in scholarship with regard to the history of Geneva. At a later date the society hopes to be able to publish two more volumes.

Like Basel-Stadt and Schaffhausen, the canton of Geneva is one of the smallest cantons of Switzerland, comprising little more than the city itself—but with regard to its history, its cultural development, and its international significance Geneva is nevertheless one of the most important cities of central Europe. The present work subdivides the subject into three parts: Part I (pp. 3–66) discusses the origins, from prehistoric times through Helvetians and Romans down to the Carolingian era; Part II (pp. 67–220) sketches the medieval episcopal city, with special emphasis on the constant tension with Savoy (the curse of Geneva's history), and the beginnings of a military and political alliance (*combourgeoisie*) with Fribourg and Berne—which, however, it should be emphasized, did not mean a full-fledged membership in the old Swiss Confederacy; and Part III (pp. 221–540) outlines the exciting history of the city from the Reformation to the French Revolution and the French Occupation. It is particularly gratifying to see that this third part is increasingly preoccupied not only with purely historical questions, but also with the ecclesiastical and cultural history of Geneva—the economic aspects of its development being perhaps the only field somewhat neglected by the planners of this fluently written work.

Students of the vaster aspects of this city's history will be especially fascinated by the pages about the Reformation under Farel, the coming of Calvin, the leadership of Théodore de Bèze, the sudden international significance of Geneva as the Protestant Rome, the increasingly strained relations with France and Spain, the supreme importance of the Protestant printing presses of Geneva, the endless stream of religious refugees seeking a shelter from persecution, beginning prior to the English refugees in the time of Bloody Mary and lasting well beyond the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the constant influx of French Huguenots. The one incident to demonstrate best the sturdy preparedness and local pride of the citizens of Geneva is the famous Escalade of December 12, 1602—the abortive attempt by the duke of Savoy to capture the city by surprise which to this day is

celebrated with a patriotic fervor second only to the celebration commemorating the birthday of Swiss freedom on the first of August, 1291. No less interesting were the frequent conflicts between the patricians and the bourgeoisie of the city—ever-recurrent clashes which led not only to trials and executions, but which at times also necessitated the intervention of such fellow Protestant confederate cities as Berne and Zurich, or, at the time of the Swiss Catholics' greatest submissiveness to a powerful neighbor, of Louis XIV of France. In the eighteenth century also Rousseau and Voltaire became mixed up in these and other internal struggles and the political writings of Rousseau, the greatest son of Geneva, against the patricians (*Le Contrat social*, *Lettres écrites de la montagne*) and against the "pernicious" influences of the Voltairians (*Lettre à d'Alembert sur les spectacles*) assume a new significance if read against the background of the turbulent history of a city soon doomed to be invaded by the revolutionary hordes of France.

University of North Carolina

W. P. FRIEDERICH

THE LIFE OF JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN. Volume IV, 1901-1903, AT THE HEIGHT OF HIS POWER. By *Julian Amery*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. xvi, 533. \$4.50.)

THE appearance of Mr. Amery's volume signals the resumption of publication, after a seventeen-year hiatus, of the official life of Joseph Chamberlain, the first three volumes of which were among the principal achievements of the late J. L. Garvin but which, at the time of his death in 1947, he had completed only as far as the Khaki Election of 1900. For another and younger author to assume the responsibility for what his predecessor had regarded as his life's work was certainly no easy assignment. But that the decision to entrust the task to Mr. Amery—himself a recently elected Conservative M.P. and son of the former cabinet member, Leopold S. Amery—is a wise one will be apparent to readers of these judiciously written if overly detailed chapters in the life of the British colonial secretary. He has, to be sure, relied heavily upon material collected by Garvin, but at the same time he has produced a work which is distinctly his own and which possesses no less merit than the preceding volumes.

Since the author has intentionally desired to maintain the scale of Garvin's work, he has confined his narrative to less than three years of Chamberlain's life. The manifold activities of the seemingly tireless colonial secretary were both diverse and important, and they assuredly merited close attention. However, the narrow concentration upon such a restricted span of years has resulted in a volume which not only lacks dramatic unity but which also, of necessity, devotes an excessive amount of space to the examination of subjects already explored in the writings of Mr. Garvin.

The five separate sections into which the volume is divided furnish an almost exhaustive study of a man who used the post of colonial secretary and his own

talents to achieve a position of primary importance, if not actual leadership in the cabinet of Lord Salisbury. Two of the five are specifically concerned with South African affairs—the first section is an analysis of the issues of war and peace in the seemingly endless struggle with the Boers, and the other, part four of the volume, an almost day-by-day account of Chamberlain's journey through South Africa shortly after the termination of hostilities. The former, coming after Garvin's more dramatic story of the war's outbreak, is something of an anticlimax and relates events in which Chamberlain's personal role is perhaps of lesser significance, but its minute detail does have the distinct advantage of revealing all of the difficulties and intricacies of co-ordinating policy between Chamberlain and the cabinet, on the one hand, and Kitchener and Milner, on the other. The chapters concerning his tour, dealing with the still pertinent questions of the relationship between Briton and Boer, are among the most interesting in the entire work; yet while they indicate the wisdom of Chamberlain's policies, they also show that he was far too sanguine in his expectations of an early and final reconciliation.

The second section of Mr. Amery's volume deals exclusively with foreign policy; it recounts at length the third and last futile attempt to associate Great Britain with the German Empire and goes on to chronicle the steps by which Chamberlain, rebuffed and angered by the Wilhelmstrasse, turned instead to the alternative policy, an entente with France. Both accounts are based primarily upon published materials, particularly the German and British documents relating to the origins of the World War; the Chamberlain papers, unfortunately—as the author admits—contained little that was relevant (pp. 137 n., 179). The author engages in a bit of special pleading when he makes the exaggerated claim that the colonial secretary was "the chief author of the revolution in British foreign policy" and insists that "... he was the initiator of the French alliance project, just as he had been of the German alliance project before it" (pp. 206, 179). On the other hand, the experience of yet another war with Germany has made Mr. Amery more skeptical than Garvin in his appraisal of the wisdom of Chamberlain's proposals for a German alliance. To be sure he castigates the kaiser and his advisers for their truculence and regrets the failure of what he feels might have been a turning point in history, but, even so, he concludes with the judicious verdict: "It must always be dangerous for Britain to ally itself with the strongest power in Europe; and Chamberlain was wrong, as the event would show, to believe that Imperial Germany could be made to serve our Imperial purposes."

In addition to a section devoted to showing Chamberlain's many and varied secondary interests—tropical medicine, the economic plight of the West Indies, the establishment of Birmingham University—the fifth, and concluding, portion of the volume deals with the origins of tariff reform. This question, arising out of Chamberlain's experiences with the various colonial conferences, was of course the last and possibly the most significant of the many causes for which he labored.

But it was also an issue which reveals the unintentional irony in the subtitle of Mr. Amery's book, *At the Height of His Power*. For tariff reform, involving revision of fiscal policies as sacred to Hicks Beach as to doctrinaire free traders, was to divide the cabinet, lead to Chamberlain's resignation, and, ultimately, influence the great Liberal victory of 1906. And perhaps more than any single issue it was to show that Chamberlain, whatever his personal popularity, was a political hostage to a Conservative ministry and was to be remembered as the man whose actions produced disaster for both of the great political parties with which he was associated. But for the full story of the consequences of the tariff question we shall have to wait. Mr. Amery is content to trace the evolution of Chamberlain's ideas and, reserving the climax of the Chamberlain story for his final volume, to terminate his narrative at the point where the battle lines are barely beginning to form.

Princeton University

RICHARD D. CHALLENGER

THE HOLY SEE AND THE IRISH MOVEMENT FOR THE REPEAL OF THE UNION WITH ENGLAND, 1829-1847. By *John F. Broderick, S.J.* [Analecta Gregoriana, Volume LV.] (Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1951. Pp. xxvii, 237. L. 1200.)

THIS is an illuminating study of one of the most controversial episodes in the history of British rule in Ireland during the past century. It will take its place among a number of recent monographs which are gradually providing the material from which the history of Ireland from the Union to the establishment of the Free State will eventually be written. The author has had access to papal archives that have not previously been used. Many of these are quoted at considerable length, and on most contentious points the documents are left to speak for themselves. The result is the most scholarly account of this episode that has yet been written, one that would seem to justify the author's prediction that, whatever new evidence may yet come to light, his conclusions are likely to stand.

The chapters on the repeal agitation in Ireland are vivid, but the evidence is at times unduly repetitious, and the author has relied too much on that portion of the Irish press which supported the movement. The figures given for attendance at some of O'Connell's meetings are scarcely credible. The most interesting feature is the evidence of the extent to which the Catholic clergy took part in the movement. The more moderate men, such as Archbishop Murray, stood aloof; but O'Connell's statement that he had the support of a majority of the bishops and of virtually all the lower clergy seems to have been justified.

The most original chapters are those on the papacy. In general, the authorities at Rome were more than ready to comply with the requests of the British government whenever it was possible to do so; and on its part that government was not backward in making its requests. A secret agent was maintained in Rome

from 1832 onward; and, on one occasion at least, the support of Metternich was sought and obtained. But there were limits beyond which the papacy could not go, and the repeated demand for a public condemnation of the activity of the Irish clergy was never complied with. The situation caused grave anxiety at Rome, and admonitions were issued from time to time, pointing out the danger to religion that would result from this mingling in politics. But the matter was not so simple as it appeared to politicians like Palmerston and Metternich. To the Irish clergy the matter of repealing the Union and securing a native Irish government was not simply a matter of politics. It involved the moral and spiritual life of the Irish people as well as their form of government; and a good deal of clerical support was given in the belief that, in the interests of peace and order, the change must be effected during O'Connell's lifetime. What is evident from this study is that any direct command from Rome such as the British government desired, would almost certainly have been flouted. It was a curious situation: a Protestant government, forbidden by law to hold any communication with the papacy, earnestly and repeatedly seeking the intervention of the pope; and a devoutly Catholic people firmly and persistently denying the right of the pope to intervene in any way. Father Broderick appropriately prints Greville's comment on the situation.

Toward O'Connell himself Father Broderick is sympathetic, but not uncritical. He emphasizes the lack of judgment which led the *Liberator* to assume that what had been achieved in 1829 in the matter of Catholic emancipation could be repeated on a larger scale and by the same methods in the matter of the Union. The book is written clearly and simply, and the discussion of sources in the introduction will be of the greatest value. But the printing and the binding are inexcusably bad. Italian typesetters have played havoc with the English language, and there seems no reason why so many errors should have escaped the proofreader.

University of Toronto

D. J. McDougall

A WEST-INDIA FORTUNE. By *Richard Pares*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1950. Pp. viii, 374. \$4.50.)

THE sugar islands were incontestably the jewels of Britain's first empire, yet, when the serious investigator seeks details and specific supporting evidence, he meets constant frustration through the impersonality of government records, the paucity of unofficial source material and its wide gaps. Planter family papers have seldom gravitated into public archives, but have, rather, normally suffered destruction or wide dispersal among several generations of descendants. The fact that occasional surviving collections, such as one known to the reviewer for more than thirty years, have not been made available for research, adds appreciably to

scholarly woes. The appearance of any new work like Professor Pares's study, resting upon virgin participant records, is consequently an event of extraordinary importance to specialists in expansion and business history alike.

There is here presented the first comprehensive account of any family's activities in the British Antilles during the whole period covering the rise and decline of the sugar industry—from the late seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth. The Pinneys were West Dorset folk one of whom, Azariah, a lace merchant, participated in Monmouth's Rebellion and was subsequently deported to Nevis in 1685, £15 in hand. Moderate business ability, innate shrewdness, and beckoning economic opportunity combined to lay the foundations of a great colonial fortune. By 1735, the Pinney estate was among the largest in the colony.

John Pinney, great-grandson of Azariah's sister Mary, inherited the family properties in 1762 and became a topping Caribbean planter, cannily investing a substantial portion of his profits in a Bristol merchant house founded in 1784. His precise accounts overlook no detail of plantation economy. After twenty-one years in the colony, he carried on as an absentee proprietor for another quarter century, encountering steadily mounting complications without being engulfed by them. The Nevis estate was at length sold in 1808 and, while several properties falling to the Pinneys as mortgagees were not finally liquidated until 1853, they continued basically West India merchants after 1808, enjoying a substantial position in the field for forty-two years and prospering mightily. Their fortune reached £340,000 at its peak, shortly after Waterloo.

In the ultimate liquidation of varied tropical American assets, they managed to salvage £242,000, an amazing feat considering the acute depreciation suffered by Caribbean interests at the time. Seldom has a £15 investment in any area paid off so handsomely. The Pinneys continue a substantial Dorset house, one of the few surviving British families which rose to wealth through early New World connections.

This monograph, based upon a meticulous study and careful interpretation of the Pinney Papers recently reassembled in Bristol, is notable in presenting the best extant accounts of British Caribbean finance, the vicissitudes befalling an outport sugar trader and manifold problems confronting a plantation factor.

Ohio State University

LOWELL RAGATZ

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI DALLA POLITICA ALLA STORIA. By *Vittorio de Caprariis*. [Istituto italiano per gli studi storici.] (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli. 1950. Pp. 136.)

THIS study is a very necessary and successful attempt to apply methods of modern intellectual history to an investigation of the origin of Guicciardini's historical views. The chief thesis of the book is well indicated by its subtitle: "From Politics to History." "The great crisis which began with the expulsion of

the Medici in 1527 destroyed the false political doctrines which Guicciardini believed to have extracted from history"; he turned away from the exploration of political theory and became a true historian because "he realized the insufficiency of his previous intellectual efforts and became aware of the collapse of the system which he had constructed with great effort" (p. 108). The author seeks to prove this thesis by an analysis of Guicciardini's chief works, namely, of the *Storie Fiorentine*, of his political writings on the Florentine constitution, of the recently discovered *Cose Fiorentine*, and of the *Storia d'Italia*. The aim of the first two of these works is discovery of the laws of politics. According to the author, the *Storie Fiorentine* is chiefly an attempt to analyze tyranny and democracy—the Medici rule exemplifies a typical tyranny, the constitution, established by Savonarola, a democratic regime. While the *Storie Fiorentine* is intended to show why these forms of government cannot work, Guicciardini's various drafts for a Florentine constitution attempt to find a form of government which will function. According to the author, variations in these constitutional projects are not determined by changes in the political situation, by opportunism, but must be explained as stages in the evolution of a continuous effort to establish the rules of good government. The *Cose Fiorentine*, begun in the critical year 1528, represents a different approach; Guicciardini now writes history. The author believes that Guicciardini was aware that he attempted something new; otherwise he would not have taken up a subject with which he had dealt twenty years before, without referring, in his later work, to his earlier effort. The *Cose Fiorentine* gives increased attention to historical details, and shows a new realization of the complexity of historical causation. Because, instead of the problem of political norm, the question of historical causation had become Guicciardini's chief concern, he could not continue to write in the framework of a Florentine history; Guicciardini abandoned the *Cose Fiorentine* and began to work on the *Storia d'Italia*. His search for complete understanding of the net of causal connections resulted in a really comprehensive and objective picture of the great crisis of the Italian political system at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

In my opinion, there is no doubt that the author's reconstruction of Guicciardini's intellectual development is correct. One may regret that, while the writings of Guicciardini's "political period" are analyzed at great length, the historical works of his later years are treated much more briefly and somewhat sketchily. In his eagerness to make his point, the author becomes sometimes one-sided; for instance, though, in my opinion, he is correct in stressing that the *Storie Fiorentine* is chiefly an exercise in criticism of tyranny and democracy, he should have mentioned the importance of the traditional patterns of family chronicles and city histories for the composition of this work. In general, there is a tendency to slight the influence of external events and of the intellectual trends of the time; Guicciardini's development appears as a self-generating, somewhat automatic process. But if the work does not solve all the problems connected

with Guicciardini's development, it has the solid merit of providing a new and sound basis for further research.

Bryn Mawr College

FELIX GILBERT

SEEDS OF ITALIAN NATIONALISM, 1700-1815. By *Emiliana Pasca Noether*, New Jersey College for Women. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 570.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. 202. \$3.00.)

DR. Noether in her study of the seeds of Italian nationalism in the eighteenth century rightly stresses the fact that Italian nationalism did not appear as a moving force until the nineteenth century. Then it grew in Italy, as in other European lands, under the influence of the French Revolution and of Napoleon's wars and rule. But the French Revolution itself and its theories of secular patriotism and national, instead of royal, sovereignty, were the outcome of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment which, though of English, Dutch, and French origin, became a general European phenomenon. Italy had its share in it. Thus the new nationalism brought by Napoleon found the soil well prepared among the intellectuals by the eighteenth-century development.

The spread of the Enlightenment in Italy was facilitated through the disappearance of the Spanish impact on Italy. It was replaced by the progressive rule of the Habsburgs and Lorrains in Milan and Tuscany, and by the Bourbon dynasty in Naples. Throughout Italy, the eighteenth century witnessed great activity in literature, historiography, and economic reform movements. Interestingly, the new historiography, as Dr. Noether points out, was hardly favorable to Rome and the Roman tradition with its universalism. Italy was claimed to be older than Rome; the Italian Etruscans were regarded as the cultural parents of Greeks, Romans, and Europe alike, so that the Italians, then politically and socially a backward part of Europe, could feel themselves superior to the rest of the world.

Pietro Verri, an official of the Habsburg government in Milan, and Antonio Genovesi, the first professor of commerce and applied mechanics at the University of Naples, fought for the introduction of modern political economy to Italy. Men like Verri, children of the Enlightenment who looked to England and France as models, did much to shake the Italian traditionalism, but it was only the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era which marked the beginning of a national awareness in Italy. The first clearly nationalist thinker who "formulated the principles which were to direct the Risorgimento," was Vincenzo Cuoco (1770-1823), a Neapolitan who as a young man participated in the revolution of 1799 and went insane a few months after the restoration of 1815. He was "undoubtedly the first Italian to see" that Italy must solve its own problems and must remember that she had a mission to fulfill.

Vico taught Cuoco that the Italians had no need of foreign help or doctrine; "Machiavelli supplied Cuoco's realistic approach to politics." Like Machiavelli, he sought to persuade the Italians that the prime necessity of political life was military strength. Cuoco based his call for Italian unity upon the legend of Italy's political and cultural greatness under an Etruscan leadership many centuries before the foundation of Rome or the glory of Greece. With such a past the Italians had a great mission ahead of them once they would develop "military organisation, discipline, love of hard work, courage, and love of country to the degree where they would willingly face death to save it." Cuoco was the first Italian nationalist, the product of the Napoleonic era. With him Dr. Noether concludes her able survey of the preparatory period of Italian nationalism, the various early expressions of which she has presented with warm sympathy for the aspirations of Italy.

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN ITALY, 1715-1920. By *Arthur James Whyte*. (Reprint; Oxford: Basil Blackwell; New York: Macmillan Company. 1950, 1951. Pp. vii, 275. \$3.75.)

THE qualification 1715-1920 is somewhat misleading in the title of a book which concerns itself primarily with the nineteenth century: the first chapter alone deals with the period prior to 1815, and, allowing for the far greater importance of the nineteenth than the eighteenth century in the history of Italy, the earlier period is too summarily sketched.

The survey of the nineteenth century is well done, especially where it deals with the domestic scene. An often complicated tale is unfolded with the assets of good organization and clear exposition, showing the thorough digestion of a large mass of material. Within the period of the Risorgimento proper, the importance of 1831 as a turning point in the direction of the movement; the nature of the movement thereafter; the events of 1848-1849; the significance of these events and their aftermath in the emergence of Cavour and his successful policies, are brought out in illuminating perspective and relationship.

The treatment of the period of the sixties, often relatively neglected, is one of the merits of this book. The same applies to the excellent analysis of military operations, treated in greater detail than is usually the case. The military record of modern Italy is set in its proper light.

The characterization of the whole century as "a history of the rise and fall of parliamentary government in Italy" (p. 263) is apt. On the reasons for failure, the author takes the widely accepted view of political immaturity. But the point is rather slurred that the unexpectedly large effort called by the First World War put too great a strain on a system which was not otherwise necessarily doomed.

Giolitti's forecast was sounder than that of those who brought the country

into the war. The figure of Giolitti is not congenial to the author, more attracted by the picturesque Crispi, though the record of both is fairly presented. That Crispi was colorful no one will deny, but the quality of his imperial vision may well be questioned.

The treatment of foreign policy is, in fact, the chief weakness of this work. The superficiality of this treatment is probably the result of too great sketchiness and condensation, resulting at times in misleading impressions. The comment on the poor quality of Italian foreign ministers (p. 215) is surprising, and there was much more steadiness and continuity in the direction of Italian foreign policy than one would gather here.

There are also annoying, if minor, inaccuracies. War between France and Austria broke out in 1792, not 1793 (p. 11); Beauharnais was not Napoleon's brother-in-law (p. 15); the comments on Mazzini on page 42 seem contradictory; socialism was not purely Reformist in Italy at the beginning of this century as seems implied on page 218; the Franco-Italian colonial agreement was not made in 1904 (p. 233). The list could be extended, but these remain secondary blemishes on an otherwise useful and basically sound contribution to the literature on the subject in English.

Barnard College, Columbia University

RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ

ROMMEL, THE DESERT FOX. By *Desmond Young*. Foreword by Field-Marshal Sir *Claude Auchinleck*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1950. Pp. xvii, 264. \$5.50.)

INVASION 1944: ROMMEL AND THE NORMANDY CAMPAIGN. By *Hans Speidel*. Introduction by *Truman Smith*, Colonel, U.S.A. (Retired). (Chicago: Henry Regnery. 1950. Pp. xiii, 176. \$2.75.)

GENERALS who win wars seldom achieve more than run-of-the-mill distinction. To become famous in history and literature as a military genius, the ambitious battlefield commander should arrange to be on the losing side. As warriors, Alcibiades, Hannibal, Wallenstein, Napoleon, Lee, Jan Smuts, Ludendorff, and von Hindenburg were losers all! But how many persons outside the history profession can name the perhaps better generals who defeated them? Now Erwin Rommel, the defeated Desert Fox, is emerging from World War II with battle honors eclipsing those of Patton, Bradley, Montgomery, and Mark Clark, not to mention higher level, Allied victors such as Eisenhower, Wavell, and Alexander.

Rommel was perhaps the heaviest loser of them all. He lost his Afrika Korps and North Africa. He lost most of France, plus fifteen or twenty divisions organized into a group of armies. He lost the confidence of his own government. He retained only his honors. He traded his life for those honors in order that his wife and son might not be persecuted by the tyranny he long served but ultimately distrusted.

The drama inherent therein is illustrative of one of the several reasons why

losing generals often become more famous than their victors. The narrative of a bold, dynamic, quick-witted leader against overwhelming odds, probing and improvising, and at last going down in a final, great, heroic effort, always provides a superb vehicle for historical drama. It attracts authors. Fame is usually somewhat proportional to the number of printed pages that a career creates. Rommel had attracted buckets of printers' ink long before Brigadier Desmond Young, English soldier and journalist, took up his story. Much of this ink was expended by the Nazi propagandists who sought to build up Rommel and through him prestige for their party. Many of their claims were purposely untrue. They claimed he was a party member. This falsehood is said to have made him indignant.

Across the English Channel, other forces were at work that brought Rommel a good press in England. The British often gave Rommel praise that was all the more eloquent because it seemed so reluctant. Wittingly or unwittingly, it was a gracious, pride-salving way of explaining defeats. The cowboy who is thrown out of a barroom by Jack Dempsey has little to explain. But what happens to his self-respect if the ejection is made by a pint-size, unknown bouncer? Some such thoughts could have been in Churchill's mind when that genius at explanations stood in the House of Commons and said of Rommel: "We have a very daring and skillful opponent against us, and may I say, across the havoc of war, a great general."

It is out of this welter of propaganda and counterpropaganda that Brigadier Young extracts his story, the first full-length, English biography of the Desert Fox. The research technique is not that of the academician. It is that of an inquiring journalist seeking intimate knowledge of a casual acquaintance. In structure the narrative is that of a novel, complete with flashbacks and warmed-over emotions. Neither Rebecca West nor Erich Remarque ever conceived a character more enmeshed in his own environment who thereby is being dragged onward toward a "pitiless destiny" than is Desmond Young's happily married Rommel.

Historically, the book makes no pretense to being a definitive biography. The author hopes it may prove a stimulus to further study of and the translation of a great mass of Rommel papers that Manfred Rommel turned up just as Young's book was being printed. Rommel the man, his inherent qualities and character, receives more emphasis than tactics and battlefield decisions. These last, Young cheerfully leaves to more pedantic pens. The opinions, often by interview, of many friends, subordinates, and opponents are collected, analyzed, correlated, and interpreted. Much of this has the solid ring of good, authentic reporting.

These are the very qualities that give the narrative its action and rapidity of movement toward the climax of the drama—Rommel's incredible, fiction-like death, followed by the grandiose, hollow propaganda of a Nazi state funeral. Like the climax of any well-written tragedy, all this, under Young's adroit pen, seems to have been foreordained. It seems almost incidental that the author

explodes many wartime, propaganda myths. For example, Rommel was never a Free Corps crony of Göring, Hess, Röhm, Borman, *et al.* He was never of the S.A. or S.S. He was never a policeman. He was not a noncommissioned officer who had risen from the ranks, nor was he the son of a laborer.

Desmond Young's Rommel is the modest son of a talented but humble German schoolteacher. His amazingly brilliant record as an audacious, small-units leader in mountain combat guaranteed his retention in the small, peacetime army between the wars. His textbook on infantry tactics called him to Hitler's attention. He, in turn, reacted favorably to Hitler purely as a World War I ex-corporal who was still endowed with the physical courage of a combat soldier. Rommel had no interest in politics and, Young insists, loathed nearly all the men about Hitler. Young suggests that Rommel's genius for command fully blossomed in Africa because that theater was beyond the contamination range of wartime Nazism.

Command of the armies in western France gave Rommel a station sufficiently high and near enough to Germany that malodorous facts of Nazism and the certainty of ultimate defeat could no longer be concealed from Rommel. That he would have succeeded Hitler as chief of the German nation, had the assassination plot succeeded, Young takes for granted.

Thus, many myths concerning Rommel are dispelled. But there is little assurance that new myths have not been created. A bold, colorful, losing general attracts myths the same way that a lodestone draws a compass needle from the north.

Lieutenant General Hans Speidel's *Invasion 1944* supplements that part of the Rommel story that concerns his defeat in France. Speidel was Rommel's chief of staff. It is an unblushing apology for disaster. It is undocumented and contains so many minor errors of fact that the author could not have had access to many contemporary materials for refreshing his memory. Therein lies its only value—the rationalizations of a scholarly, professional soldier as he gropes through his memories for the reasons of defeat. The German chain of command was faulty. Intelligence of the enemy was inadequate. "Unscrupulousness was balanced by amateurishness in the German Supreme Command." Hitler's military education was still a World War I corporal "enmeshed in the memories" of static fronts. Speidel mentions some Allied lost chances for quicker victory, but briefs no convincing case.

Wisconsin State College, Superior

JIM DAN HILL

HITLER'S INTERPRETER. By *Paul Schmidt*. Edited by *R. H. C. Steed*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. 286. \$4.00.)

For nearly a quarter of a century Dr. Paul Schmidt, an interpreter of extraordinary ability and memory, played a modest but not unimportant part in the

political events in Europe and the rise and fall of Germany. He served Hitler during the dark days of German diplomacy from 1935 to 1945. On occasion, he was the only third party present at meetings of world-shaking import. In this book, the English version of Schmidt's memoirs, the editor, R. H. C. Steed, has omitted the pre-Hitlerian part altogether, from the period from the end of the Ruhr occupation (1923) to the end of reparations (1932). In the full German edition, Schmidt describes his services for Stresemann, Müller, Marx, Luther, Curtius, and Brüning.

Although Schmidt's account is that of a technical expert whose main function consisted in translating or recording what he heard, it is at the same time a testament to the futile tragedy of appeasement. There is nothing sensational or new in these memoirs, for the record of the Hitler era has been completely exposed. What this book does is to substantiate and round out the conclusions that have already been reached about the Nazi era. Schmidt gives further light on the mood of the participants in the big conferences, how they phrased their questions and answers, and what side remarks they made. There is a full description of Chamberlain's tragic failure at Munich. In addition, there are such interesting sidelights as Hitler's firing of his *chef de protocole*, who made the grievous error of allowing the Führer to go bare-headed in evening dress to inspect a guard of honor while the king of Italy appeared resplendent in full uniform; how the completely misled Lloyd George judged Hitler to be "really a great man"; how Hitler admitted that "if the French had marched into the Rhineland, we would have had to withdraw with our tail between our legs"; how the Führer miscalculated England's will to fight; how Ribbentrop sulked with jealousy; how Göring showed off his model trains; how Hitler showed his disappointment when an "ungrateful" Franco failed to join him in the war; and how Hitler doggedly carried on after his escape from assassination.

Schmidt goes through the usual process of disapproving the acts of those he served so intimately and so long. In this respect, his book is similar to virtually all the postwar memoirs of German officials (for example, Herbert von Dirksen, *Moskau, Tokio, London: 20 Jahre deutscher Aussenpolitik* [1949]; Eric Kordt, *Nicht aus den Akten* [1950]; and Ernst von Weizsäcker, *Memoirs* [1951]). As the others, Schmidt is damning and contemptuous in his judgments of Nazi leaders, particularly Hitler and Ribbentrop. He describes Hitler as an absent-minded brooder, pale from sleeplessness, who, almost without transition, would suddenly fly into a rage, who was always averse to any precise statements, and who had an extraordinary capacity for self-deception. The author condemns Ribbentrop for his "inferiority complex with an assumed brusqueness," his "monstrously suspicious nature," his persistency and obstinacy, his bull-in-a-China-shop techniques, and his slavish repetition of what he believed his idol wanted him to say.

Schmidt concludes his memoirs by expressing two convictions resulting from

his long experiences: (1) the ineluctable rule of moral laws in the lives of people; and (2) the irresistible power of the laws of economics. Unfortunately, he does not attempt to correlate the first of these convictions with his long service for Hitler. Nowhere in his memoirs does he confess that it might have been better not to have continued to serve the hypomaniac who, he admits, was driving inexorably toward war. Dirksen, on the other hand, acknowledged a reservation: "That it was honorable perhaps not to serve the Hitler régime altogether was a thought that lay far from me at that time." Schmidt considered himself only a technical supernumerary who could only seek to soften Hitler's more bombastic threats by shrewd translations. He asks us to believe that he felt a sense of satisfaction when Berlin was bombed in retribution for the bombing of London. "During those nights I knew I could look my English friends in the face."

The editor writes that "Schmidt might fairly be described as an enlightened, cosmopolitanised German nationalist." Perhaps so, but the impression received by this reviewer is that Schmidt's apologia, as those of Dirksen, Kordt, and Weiszäcker, is unconvincing. Curiously, many "enlightened German nationalists" supported Hitler during his heyday and became vociferously anti-Nazi only after he had lost his bout with destiny and was safely dead in the ruins of Berlin.

City College of New York

LOUIS L. SNYDER

DIE GESCHICHTE ÖSTERREICHES. Volume II, 1648-1918. By *Hugo Hantsch*. (Graz: Styria Steirische Verlagsanstalt. [1950]. Pp. 636.)

THIS is the second of a three-volume history of Austria by Professor Hugo Hantsch, of the University of Vienna. The first volume was completed in 1937, just before the author lost his professorship and ultimately wound up in a Nazi concentration camp. The volume under review was written chiefly during vacation times under all the difficulties confronting central European scholars in the trying years immediately following the war. Professor Hantsch has succeeded in bringing out a volume based on some actual source material, on most of the best monographs, and on a large number of good doctoral dissertations written under his direction.

Professor Hantsch's volume is an excellent one. He has no particular axe to grind and makes a sincere attempt to write the history of his country "*wie es eigentlich gewesen war*." If any particular predilections are evident in the volume, they are the author's genuine religious spirit, his appreciation of the values of the monarchy, his recognition of certain turning points in history, and his sympathy for the masses of people. One can not say that Professor Hantsch has not been at all influenced by the German point of view. His treatment of the nationality problems of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is in sharp contrast to the views expressed by some of the more nationalist Slav and Magyar writers. But a sense of fairness permeates the volume which is not found in many of the historical works produced in central Europe during the past half century.

Although the volume deals with Austrian affairs, the author does not hesitate to describe general European conditions when it seems appropriate to do so to give the reader a better understanding of Austrian matters. In the chapters dealing with the period between 1648 and 1740 the main emphasis is on diplomatic and dynastic problems. Chapter VIII has one of the most brilliant descriptions of baroque culture which this reviewer has seen. Maria Theresa's reforms are described in a sympathetic vein, while in three excellent chapters on Joseph II both the emperor's positive accomplishments and his shortcomings are analyzed. There is an excellent evaluation of Metternich and his policies. Like Professor Blum, the author has done much to correct the distorted views in regard to the pre-1848 Austrian nobility spread by liberals of the late nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century. The analyses of the October diploma, February patent, and the making of the compromise of 1867 are especially good. Leopold I, Leopold II, Taaffe, and Aehrenthal are portrayed in a much more favorable light than has been customary in the past. Considerable attention is paid to the decay of liberalism and the origins and early history of the Christian Socialist and Social Democratic parties. Developments in Hungary after 1867 have been neglected, but there are short though adequate treatments of the Czech and South Slav national movements.

There are forty-two pages of notes and a long index which add much to the usefulness of the volume.

University of Texas

R. JOHN RATH

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF POLAND: FROM THE ORIGINS TO SOBIESKI (TO 1696). Edited by *W. F. Reddaway, J. H. Penson, O. Halecki, R. Dybowski*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1950. Pp. xiv, 607. \$8.50.)

THIS is Volume I of a three-volume history of Poland planned in 1936 and delayed by war and by the exile and the deaths of some of the editors and contributors. The second volume (1697-1935) appeared in 1941 (see *AHR*, XLVII [July, 1942], 849). Polish scholars apparently played a decisive role as initiators and collaborators in the project, although other scholars, too, participated. In addition to a well-presented account of political developments, this volume contains chapters on "The Church in Poland," "The Renaissance in Poland," "Reformation," "Counterreformation," "Constitutional Conditions," "Social and Economic Structure," and "Polish Cultural Life and Art."

The nationalistic tendencies of pre-World War II Poland, the dream of a great Poland (from the Baltic to the Black Sea), of forming a western bulwark against the menace of the East (Russia), and of the struggle against the Germans, have left their imprint on the volume under consideration. The authors of different chapters often reinterpret medieval Polish history in the light of contem-

porary conflicts. Thus Professor S. Ketrzynski, dealing with the early kings of Poland (chap. II), Professor A. Bruce Boswell on "The Twelfth Century" (chap. III), and Professor M. Z. Jedlicki on "German Settlement in Poland" (chap. VII) attempt to minimize the dependence of Poland in its early stages on the Holy Roman Empire and frequently appear apologetic with respect to co-operation with Germany or Germans.

In this reviewer's opinion the fact that "the Imperial claim to . . . allegiance only became effective when an Emperor had the desire and the strength to enforce it" (p. 43), proves nothing about Poland since the same situation prevailed in most parts of the German Empire. As a matter of fact Polish princes sought independence from imperial allegiance by becoming fief-holders of the Holy See and paying Peter's pence (pp. 76-77). Similarly, it is unsound historically to regard the early struggle for the conquest of Pomerania and other provinces on the Baltic Sea as attempts to Polonize these regions culturally. Rather a lust for conquest and the religious zeal for Christianizing the pagans played the main role. In fact, Boleslaw III called in Otto, bishop of Bamberg, and German missionaries for the purpose of Christianizing Pomerania.

This reviewer also considers it rather exaggerated to present the struggle for power among the princes during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and their efforts to enlarge their principalities as a nationalistic attempt to build up Polish unity. This mistaken attitude leads the author (chap. V) to become apologetic for Polish-German co-operation during the thirteenth century, for the invitation to the Teutonic Order to Poland, or the invitation to German settlers to build towns and villages, and to interpret them as a sort of conscious attempt to learn Western ideas, "to go to school" in order to assimilate them into Polish thinking. The facts which are related in the same chapter, however, give another picture. Not only could the princes not foresee that the Order would subsequently grow strong and become a menace to Poland but German colonization was regarded simply as a means of increasing revenue and the income of their principalities. Neither did "Polish consciousness" or "craving for unity" play much part in the policies of that time. These were rather, as elsewhere, guided by the contradictory particularistic and centripetal forces and by dynastic rivalries. The very author who desires to see in the church and the nobility "more permanent forces directed toward unity" has to admit "any general movement towards unity, however, was checked by jealousy between the nobles of Great and Little Poland."

The first one to unite most of Poland was not a Polish prince acting on an impulse of national consciousness, but the Czech Vaclav, as a result of conquest. And this foreign king was crowned in the cathedral of Gniezno, which the author several times depicts as the stronghold of Polishness. And again: "The decline of Bohemian rule in Poland was connected with exterior events" (p. 115) and not with Polish nationalistic trends, which hardly existed in those times. Yet again, modern nationalistic or exaggerated nationalistic attitudes, prevalent in interwar Poland, are attributed to earlier centuries.

Polish nationalists of the interwar period did not "recognize" the fact that about a third of the population was non-Polish and saw them only through the prism of assimilation and absorption. The same attitude is somewhat noticeable in the treatment of non-Polish minorities throughout the work under review. Here and there such minorities as Armenians, Jews, Ukrainians are mentioned, but neither their role in the country nor their suppression is recounted. Concerning the Ukrainians we learn of the union with Rome formed in 1596 (p. 285) and that, at the time of the Chmielnicki uprising (1648), "everywhere armed troops were formed" by peasants and townsmen (p. 511). Hardly anything, however, is said about the suppression of these Ukrainian peasants by the Polish landlords, of the religious discrimination which became the reason for their insurrection. Similarly lacking is the story of the role played by the Jews as the middle class in Poland, and as international traders. Aside from a few sentences about Jews scattered throughout the work, Professor A. Brueckner devotes about a page to them in the chapter "Polish Cultural Life." But this offers no more than a few generalizations and a number of misstatements (*gazibas* is probably meant to be *Yeshibahs*). In Warsaw Jews were neither numerous nor were they allowed to settle for a number of centuries. In 1423 there were in Warsaw twenty Jewish families. The Jews were expelled in the middle of the century and again in the 1480's, and in 1527 the act of *de non tolerandis Judaeis* was passed by the king. And this legal situation remained in force for about two and a half centuries.

These and similar shortcomings in the work are only partially outweighed by the good presentation of the political history of Poland and by a number of illustrations and a fine map.

Columbia University

BERNARD D. WEINRYB

GESCHICHTE SÜDOSTEUROPAS. By *Georg Stadtmüller*. [Geschichte der Völker und Staaten.] (Munich: Verlag von R. Oldenbourg. 1950. Pp. 527. DM. 27.50.)

THE peoples of southeastern Europe are so numerous, and the languages in which their records have been kept are so varied, that few scholars have attempted to write general histories of this complex region. Only Ferdinand Schevill's *A History of the Balkan Peninsula, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (rev. ed., New York, 1933), among recent surveys, attempts as comprehensive a treatment as that of Stadtmüller. This comparison is only an approximate one, however, for the new German history limits itself primarily to the period before the seventeenth century, while Schevill's more extended account places particular emphasis on the years since 1800. Stadtmüller interprets the region somewhat more broadly, moreover, to include the Czechs and the Slovaks. It should also be noted that this volume is intended as a general account for the informed reader,

and the many names and dates which Schevill includes in his more didactic text have been largely relegated to several appendixes.

The particular emphasis which Stadtmüller gives to the medieval and early modern development of southeastern Europe reflects his own specialization. Trained in the Roman and Byzantine periods by the late Carl Patsch of Vienna and by Franz Dölger of Bonn and Munich, the author is known for his publications in scholarly journals on topics related to Byzantine and Ottoman influence in the Balkans, and particularly in Albania. His discussion of the extension and decline of Byzantine rule in southeastern Europe, which forms the heart of the volume, is based on the great European tradition of historical scholarship in this field. To this involved subject Stadtmüller provides a balanced and comprehensive introduction, with the aid of numerous maps and a valuable selective bibliography. At the same time the author's approach is limited primarily to a political narrative, and his interpretation offers little that is original. This volume can nevertheless serve as a useful guide for those who desire a rapid survey of the facts and historiography in this field.

Stadtmüller's treatment of the organization and decline of Ottoman rule in southeastern Europe is not as successful as his discussion of the earlier period. Such problems as the political development of the Balkan peoples under Turkish rule, and the ideological and economic factors in their struggle for national independence, are scarcely mentioned. Moreover the considerable body of historical thought on the relationship between power politics in this region and the domestic affairs of the new national states is ignored, and the result is a treatment which is both too brief and too superficial to be of serious interest. Particularly striking in this connection, and doubtless reflecting the state of historical scholarship in Germany during the past generation, is the author's neglect of the great amount of historical work in this field produced outside of central Europe. Stadtmüller has failed to consult numerous British, American, and Russian studies bearing directly on this subject, and the important new school of Turkish historiography similarly goes unmentioned.

Princeton University

C. E. BLACK

TITO AND GOLIATH. By *Hamilton Fish Armstrong*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. xi, 312. \$3.50.)

TITO'S COMMUNISM. By *Josef Korbel*. (Denver: University of Denver Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 368. \$4.00.)

Tito's Yugoslavia has become a central point on the political scene, in more than one sense. It plays a vital part in the "cold war" and is likely to be in the forefront of some future conflict, but to the student it is more interesting still as providing a first test case of relations between communist states, and equally a

test case of possible relations between a communist state and the "bourgeois" states of the West.

Mr. Armstrong reports an interesting conversation he had in Paris in 1938 with Bukharin, who "with the amiability of a tired professor, but with complete assurance," explained at length that "national rivalry between Communist states was an impossibility—'by definition an impossibility'" (p. ix). The temper of the present quarrel suggests rather that intercommunist conflicts, like civil wars, can be if anything more bitter than a conflict between ideological strangers. Yet from a theoretical point of view, this in itself may not be enough to disprove Bukharin's argument. To justify the soundness of Marxist theory, in answer to those who had pointed out that Soviet practice often makes hash of it, an old and prominent Indian Communist, Mr. N. M. Roy, has argued (in *The Russian Revolution*) that the Bolshevik affair has never been a true Marxist revolution. Similarly, were he still alive, Bukharin could blunt Mr. Armstrong's point by arguing that Soviet policy toward the satellites is not a true Marxist-Communist policy.

The central argument of these two books would indeed help to support such a view. Both writers agree that the ideological accusations which the Cominform leveled at Tito were false or meaningless; as the Stalin-Tito correspondence, since disclosed, has shown, the real difference lay in the part which Yugoslavia was to play in the satellite system. The whole system was planned from Moscow and for Moscow; as Mr. Armstrong points out, the more the economy of the satellite states became "socialistic," the more was it dependent on Moscow's master plan. That explains, what otherwise would be paradoxical, why Moscow objected to Tito's plans for speedy industrialization; and Mr. Korbel produces some evidence (p. 281) to show that, like Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia was ready to join the Marshall Plan until instructed by Moscow not to do so. The issue that hurt most, however, was Stalin's "promise" in the spring of 1946 to re-equip and reorganize the Yugoslav army, already plastered with a large number of Soviet officers. This touched off the pride of Tito's partisan army, and not least the pride of Tito himself, who knew that they had won their war and gained power without Soviet help; in fact, in spite of the failure of the Soviets to send them help when they were hard pressed and asked for it.

In a way the two books are complementary. Mr. Korbel's is largely an account of life in Tito's Yugoslavia, where he acted as Czechoslovak minister for three years from September, 1945. It is sharply critical, but obviously sincere and well informed, though in painting the shadows of the present Mr. Korbel fails to relate them to the old sins of abuse and misgovernment. He deals with the Cominform conflict only in his last two chapters; Mr. Armstrong devotes the first half of his book to it, and then examines some of its repercussions in the other satellite countries, with side glances at Italy and France, at China and Japan. The whole is a valuable if summary survey, based on personal visits and

contacts with some of the protagonists in the struggle, and carefully balanced in its judgments. Mr. Armstrong makes it clear that not a few of the eastern Communist leaders objected to the Cominform's action against Tito but were overruled; a good many of them have since lost their positions or even their heads. Both writers believe that the Kremlin badly miscalculated its power to impose obedience, and Mr. Korbelt points out that not a single Yugoslav Communist leader has succumbed to its pressure. But that makes the conflict all the more tense and dangerous all around. As Mr. Armstrong puts it, "from the Cominform's schism of June 1947 there grew and spread the very thing which Stalin must have wanted most fervently to avoid—a heresy with a general and lasting appeal" (p. 273). To see "Trotskyism" followed by "Titoism" must indeed be a constant threat to that unquestioned supremacy which the rulers in the Kremlin have come to expect; all the more so as both these heretical groups have also been vigorous in denouncing, and in a measure disproving, the supposed Marxist orthodoxy upon which the Soviet rulers have based their claim to infallibility.

At the same time, it remains to be seen how far the break with the Kremlin will force Tito to modify his own professed Marxism. Both writers mention the difficult task which faces the satellite states in trying to collectivize the peasants; neither of them considers the far-reaching political implications of that policy. It could not be done without first suppressing the widespread and democratic Peasant movement, and not only moderate Socialists but inexplicably after the war even the regime of President Beneš suicidally took a hand in this. In so far as they wanted to set up a communist state the new regimes had to use dictatorial means, and these in turn made them dependent on the moral and material support of Moscow. After breaking with Moscow, can Tito fall back on popular support without paring down substantially the "dictatorship of the proletariat"?

Oxford, England

DAVID MITRANY

THE NEW SOVIET EMPIRE. By *David J. Dallin*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 216. \$3.75.)

Mr. Dallin's new book contains twelve chapters and covers a number of highly varied, although interlocking, topics. The first two chapters describe the growth and the basic nature of the new Soviet empire, the third is a brief essay on cold wars in Russian history, and the fourth, entitled "Once again Inferior Races," is a sparkling argument against all the different proponents of "diaperology and racism" as keys to the understanding of Soviet society or Russian history. Then Mr. Dallin takes up in succession "The Six Wars of the Soviet Union," "The Hundred Nations of the USSR," "Nationalism Old and New," "The Social Revolution Completed," "The Soviet Elite and the Second Generation," "The Communist Party after the War," "His Majesty Blat," and, finally, "Pretense and Reality." This last chapter is a summary and a prognosis on "the Soviet question." A useful index completes the book.

Mr. Dallin's main asset as a writer on the Soviet Union is his intimate, comprehensive, and thorough knowledge of Soviet life in its many manifestations. Indeed, Mr. Dallin is one of the few students of this complex subject who appear to possess the knowledge and the perception of "insiders." Therefore his works on the Soviet Union are invariably interesting and informative. In *The New Soviet Empire* that is especially true of the chapter on the Soviet black market ("His Majesty Blat"), and of the section on the Soviet wartime propaganda policy, particularly concerning the Jews (pp. 110-19).

The very nature of Mr. Dallin's sources, many of which consist of personal accounts of former Soviet citizens who refused to return to the USSR, often prevents precise documentation. In general the author handles his sources well. Nevertheless the reader is entitled to better documentary support for the extremely high figures on the Soviet economic exploitation of eastern Europe (p. 23), and he could question the reliability of Mr. Dallin's account of the workings of the Politburo, in particular of the relationship between Stalin and the other Soviet leaders (pp. 133-34).

The author's use of earlier Russian history also sometimes raises doubts. For instance, Mr. Dallin interprets the nineteenth century as a great victory of England over Russia in a series of cold wars, whereas many historians consider Russian occupation of central Asia and her penetration to Afghanistan and India and into Persia as victories for Russia, not England. Again, the author's analogy between the rise of the Communist privileged class and the earlier rises of the boyars and the gentry is much too glib and oversimplified (pp. 133-34).

In terms of organization, Mr. Dallin's work is rather disjointed, as the mere listing of the chapters suggests. Mr. Dallin may also be accused of an excessive devotion to insignificant detail, which at times replaces or obscures the more essential evidence. Trivial details swamp the chapters on "The Social Revolution Completed" and on "The Soviet Elite and the Second Generation": the reader becomes hopelessly bogged in the intricate comforts of the villas of the Soviet "great," the overwhelming luxuries of their "blue express," and in Ana Pauker's expensive wardrobe and chic life (that, by the way, is the only reference to Ana Pauker to be found in the book, pp. 135-36).

Most debatable of all, however, is Mr. Dallin's interpretation of his material. The new Soviet empire, as presented by the author, is a narrow and cliquish *Interessengemeinschaft* based entirely on power and prestige. Marxist ideology which Mr. Dallin used effectively to explain much of *The Real Soviet Russia* is almost entirely absent from the new book. Consequently the latter throws little light on the crucial problem of why Communists rather than others have obtained and held power and prestige in such a huge area of the globe, evoking at the same time a great support beyond its boundaries. Mr. Dallin's position on foreign policy needs further elucidation. The author considers prestige as the foundation of the new Soviet empire which its leadership will never agree to surrender. He urges a "tough" American policy to break that prestige. Yet, he states that war

can be avoided. Mr. Dallin presents his views quite dogmatically, and that hurts rather than helps his cause.

Mr. Dallin's *New Soviet Empire* is not a complete description of the Soviet Union and its European satellites, nor is it a convincing and methodical interpretation of the nature and purposes of Soviet policies. Still, it is a work full of interesting material, suggestive insights, and challenging arguments. It can make useful and stimulating reading for both the scholar and the general public.

State University of Iowa

NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY

THE NEW TURKS: PIONEERS OF THE REPUBLIC, 1920-1950. By *Eleanor Bisbee*, Former Professor of Philosophy, Robert College and the American College for Girls, Istanbul, Turkey. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 298. \$5.00.)

DR. Bisbee, in her important book *The New Turks*, has attempted to describe the characteristics and aims of the people of modern Turkey and, while sympathetically interpreting them, not to overlook the weaknesses and shortcomings which handicap progress (p. 250). To give an accurate picture of the hopes and ambitions of a nation of twenty million people is at best an imposing task, for conditions inevitably vary between social strata and in different areas. In Miss Bisbee's case it was made more difficult by the fact that her notes made during several years' residence in Istanbul as professor of philosophy at the American College for Girls in Istanbul were lost at sea during the Second World War. By gathering the latest information, however, from Turks and friends in this country and in Turkey Miss Bisbee has been able to put before the public a sympathetic and accurate picture of the modern Republic of Turkey and of its people. The book covers a wide range. Much of the material is devoted to a description of the people themselves, how they live and work, the level of education, religion, and general culture. One whole section also is devoted to the "Affairs of the Nation," how it is governed, the place of Turkey among the nations of the world, and prospects for the future. With conscientious effort to be fair Miss Bisbee is eminently successful in making the Turks appear human and attractive, possessed of unusual strength of character, yet with human frailties and faults like all the other people of the earth.

Since her avowed purpose was to write about conditions and trends as "currently displayed" (p. 250) it has been impossible for the author to show in proper perspective the historical process by which the modern Turkey came to be. On page 237 it is explicitly stated that the trend toward democratic ways can be traced back to the early reforms of the nineteenth century. A proper exposition of these developments would have required a larger book if not a second volume. But the absence of this historical background gives the impression that an

artificially sharp difference exists between the Turks of the Ottoman regime and the New Turks of the Republic.

True and accurate as the general pictures are of the various phases of Turkish life which are described, the reader needs to be cautioned against the literal acceptance of many of the detailed statements. Travelers on the road from Istanbul to Ankara will be surprised to learn that a four-lane asphalt highway exists (p. 71). An engineer just returned described the road as a two-lane highway, not over 25 per cent of which can be called asphalt. The "one-hundred-mile gorge" of the Cilician Gates (p. 77) seemed to this reviewer who passed through the gates for the second time a little over a year ago more like a real gorge for not over one mile. Kadir Gecesi is the evening before the twenty-seventh day of Ramazan and not the night before Şeker Bayramı (p. 138). The Koran was revealed to Mohammed through a period of years, not on one night, although tradition says it came down to Gabriel on Kadir Gecesi (p. 138). The Land Law of 1945 described on page 111 has so far resulted only in division of some public lands, not having yet been applied to private holdings. At no time did the Ottoman Empire hold the land "all around the Black Sea" (p. 202).

In general, these errors in particular statements, of which the above are merely samples, are not material to the over-all picture. Although the book is commendably accurate in the impressionistic picture as a whole, particular statements that fill in the details should be accepted with reserve.

At a time when Turkey is proving herself one of America's staunchest allies and is exhibiting to the world a social marvel of adaptation to political ideals common with our own, it is to be hoped that this friendly and sympathetic interpretation will receive a wide welcome. Especially it should be on the reserve shelves of all university courses that deal with the Near East or with matters of current world affairs.

Hartford, Connecticut

J. K. BIRGE

Far Eastern History

JAPAN. Edited by *Hugh Borton*, Assistant Director, East Asian Institute, Columbia University. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 320. \$4.00.)

THIS convenient volume offers an excellent summary of background information on Japan. Each of its twenty-three chapters represents an article for the new edition of the *Encyclopedia Americana*; almost all of the twenty contributors are leading specialists on Japan in American universities. Topically, items relating to history and government share with economics the fullest coverage, but the arts, social life, and geographic background also receive highly competent treatment. On the whole, the sections devoted to economics seem most successful. They

combine skillful condensation of earlier summaries with a judicious use of recent research to present in capsule form a very stimulating and cogent account of developments in industry, trade, and agriculture since the opening of Japan in the nineteenth century. The authors make it abundantly clear why Japan's economic problems, interwoven as they are with those of the rest of Asia, remain far from solved despite the coming of peace with the West.

Inevitably, there are differences of emphasis among the contributors. Some of the articles are limited largely to the pre-modern period, others to events since Perry, while still others relate chiefly to developments since World War II. The writers concerned with social institutions prefer, on the whole, to slight the Occupation and its works, while the sections on government and education deal almost entirely with postwar reforms. In some cases this results in a rather unfortunate lack of balance. The early labor movement, for instance, comes in for more coverage than the more significant struggle for parliamentary government, while prewar education is slighted in favor of the more recent, American-inspired models which have yet to prove themselves. The contents of directives and programs for reform would have seemed somewhat less visionary had they been placed more squarely against the background of earlier universal education and parliamentary experience. These institutions, whatever their drawbacks, provided in Japan a more workable basis for democratic reforms than was to be found in any other Asian country.

Given the handicaps of multiple authorship and the topical approach, however, it would be difficult to improve on the impressive factual content and breadth of coverage which Mr. Borton and his associates have achieved. Encyclopedia articles seldom make for leisure reading, and it will be a hardy layman who assimilates all that is here presented. Few specialists will fail to find some items worth noting in these competent summaries, and the book will prove of decided use for teaching needs.

University of Washington

MARIUS B. JANSEN

American History

THE FLORIDA OF THE INCA [GARCILASO DE LA VEGA]. Translated and Edited by *John Grier Varner* and *Jeannette Johnson Varner*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1951. Pp. xlv, 655. \$7.50.)

JOHN Grier Varner, Jeannette Johnson Varner, and the University of Texas Press have joined in making available for the first time in English the complete text of the fourth and last of the important chronicles of the De Soto expedition. It would be difficult to say who did his job the best. El Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega, three and a half centuries ago set down an extravagant story which has lost little of its flavor in this remarkable translation in which the Varners leave no doubt

as to their scholastic and linguistic abilities. Also they could hardly have asked for a better medium of presenting the results of their efforts to the public, as the University of Texas Press has produced a beautiful volume both artistically and editorially.

The translation, based on the Madrid edition of 1723 and then collated with the Lisbon edition of 1605, is "complete and without alterations other than those required by the process of translation."

El Inca completed *La Florida* approximately a half century after the remains of the greatest "army" up to its time in the New World straggled into Pánuco, destitute and physically exhausted. Garcilaso makes clear that he used the brief memoirs of Alonso de Carmona and Juan Coles but fails to inform his readers who furnished him with the bulk of his material. The Varners, along with most other authorities, conclude that the narrator was probably Gonzalo Silvestre, whose imagination and self-esteem apparently were but slightly dimmed by the passage of time.

This could lead us directly to the question of the authenticity and reliability of the Inca's account, a question upon which there is considerable divergence of opinion. But the Varners in their preface state that "we are not attempting to estimate the relative value of the early reports or to establish time sequences and geographical location." By seemingly justifying their "act" on the grounds that the volume was needed in English if for no other reason than that it is the first classic on America written by an American and because it is the longest and best-written story of the De Soto expedition, the translators avoid the issue. However, it should be noted that the United States De Soto Expedition Commission, whose final report appeared in 1939, held Garcilaso de la Vega's account in relatively low regard while praising the efforts of Ranjel and the Gentleman of Elvas. The position taken by the commission marked the scholarly rejection, generally speaking, of *La Florida* which had been so widely accepted in the United States during the nineteenth century—it still is in France—in favor of Ranjel, whose account was first made available to the public in Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (Madrid, 1851), but whose popularity in the United States was due to his very able presentation by Professor Edward Gaylord Bourne between 1904 and 1912.

It is possible, rightly or wrongly, now that *La Florida* is available in English, that it will regain some of its earlier popularity and acceptance by scholars. Whether it does or not, the Inca's colorful romantic spirit, so ably captured by the Varners, will make delightful reading for those who prefer their history "watered down" and who can forgive the half-Indian Garcilaso his putting such impassioned discourse into the mouths of unsuspecting Chickasaws and other savages.

This is a welcome volume; to relate its contents would be banal; to recall its few scholastic lapses cavil.

Stanford University

JOHN J. JOHNSON

THE DWELLINGS OF COLONIAL AMERICA. By Thomas Tileston Waterman. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1950. Pp. 312. \$10.00.)

THE untimely death of Thomas Tileston Waterman on January 20, 1951, deprived the field of American colonial architectural history of one of its most capable scholars. During the past quarter of a century, he recorded numerous historic monuments, participated in the reconstruction of Williamsburg, directed a number of skillful restorations, and published, in addition to many articles in periodicals, handsome volumes on *The Domestic Colonial Architecture of Tidewater Virginia* (1932), with John A. Barrows, *The Early Architecture of North Carolina* (1941), with Frances Benjamin Johnston, and *The Mansions of Virginia* (1945).

It was a fitting climax of a distinguished career that Waterman was able to complete *The Dwellings of Colonial America* in which his wide knowledge is focused on a general account of domestic architecture in the Atlantic seaboard settlements. It does much to satisfy a curiously neglected need.

Following a brief review of the settlement of the English, Dutch, and Swedish colonies, the text is organized around four major geographical regions. The southern colonies occupy 108 pages, the Delaware Valley and Pennsylvania 74 pages, the Hudson Valley and eastern New Jersey 46 pages, and New England 50 pages. Within each area, the story is carried chronologically from the first rude shelters, through the first permanent structures, and finally through the more formal and sophisticated eighteenth-century examples of the mature colonies.

Of particular interest is the author's concern to reveal the cross fertilization of colonial building effected by the later emigrants from other British colonies and from other European countries. The Huguenots, the Swiss, the Moravians, the Scots, the Palatines, and other groups contributed architectural ingredients that flavored the composite picture. All of these are carefully noted.

It is, however, in tracing the reception and colonialization of the high styles, Georgian and Palladian, that the primary emphasis quite properly is placed. Here the quality of colonial ambition, conception, and execution furnished a body of material worthy of the most serious study and exposition. Here, too, the author's long experience, profound knowledge, and warm sympathy are especially apparent.

In format and typography the volume is handsome and comfortable. The 272 illustrations are valuable adjuncts to the text. They include thirty-nine floor plans, and five rendered reconstruction views that recapture the form of monuments lost or altered. The half-tone reproductions of 228 photographs, however, vary considerably in clarity. Part of the difficulty arose from the necessity of using rare old views, but, even for those prints which seem to have been technically excellent, the final result is often fuzzy and muddy. It is curious that for all our pretension to mechanical perfection, American printing should still come so far short of German, Swiss, and Swedish production. At the price of the present book it

would seem that a more adequate quality could be expected. The volume closes with a three-page bibliography, a five-page glossary, and a useful index.

Without detracting from Waterman's solid achievement, it remains to note a few reservations. One misses the concept of architecture as an amalgam of function, structure, and form. One seeks in vain for a hint of the activities housed within the various rooms. None of the plans designates room uses. The author's preoccupation with form for its own sake is revealed particularly in his thoroughgoing endeavor to isolate the transatlantic sources of American examples. This needs to be done because the colonists were always mature members of European civilization. In seeking too specific models, however, the case is overpleaded.

Some readers will be disappointed at the imbalance of space given the northern regions in contrast to the South. This is partly due to the grouping together of Virginia, Maryland, and the two Carolinas as a single unit, whereas the North is split into three foci. Another cause, cited in the introduction, that the South was more heterogeneous and thus demanded fuller treatment, will raise a number of Yankee eyebrows. One paragraph for Connecticut, for example, seems over-brief. Extant examples of eighteenth-century work in Georgia are indeed few, but they deserve at least some recognition.

Nevertheless, all who aspire to understand American history and the noblest material products of its culture will stand in debt to Thomas Waterman. His contributions to our knowledge have been great and, by example, he has challenged his colleagues and his successors to further search into the evolution and meaning of our uncommon creative heritage. Such is an epitaph in which any historian of American architecture would well find satisfaction.

University of Illinois

TURPIN C. BANNISTER

APPEALS TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL FROM THE AMERICAN PLANTATIONS. By *Joseph Henry Smith*. With an Introductory Essay by *Julius Goebel, Jr.* [Foundation for Research in Legal History, Columbia University School of Law.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1950. Pp. lxi, 770. \$10.00.)

THIS massive study evaluates the work of the Privy Council as a judicial body exercising appellate jurisdiction over the courts of the American colonies. To a large extent it represents a re-examination of the problem first studied in some detail by George A. Washburne almost thirty years ago. While Washburne saw fit to confine his inquiry to appeals from the thirteen colonies and restricted his sources to the Public Record Office, Mr. Smith has placed the problem in a broad imperial setting and combed an impressive mass of documentary materials not only in Great Britain but also in the principal American depositories of colonial records. Furthermore, since the author is convinced that the council's jurisdiction over the Channel Islands constitutes the core of its appellate powers, he has deemed

it expedient to preface his study of the colonial period with an examination of the medieval status of the Channel Islands and the problems of judicial supervision of that area under the early Stuarts.

Did the council confine its appellate functions to determining the mere matter in controversy or did it actually expound the law and take politics into consideration in making its rulings? These questions are raised at numerous points in the volume and the answers should seem quite obvious to students of constitutional and legal history. The basis of the review power in England was traditionally the superintendence of inferior jurisdictions. It was to be expected, therefore, that the council would propound broad statements of the law transcending the narrow interests involved in a specific litigation. Since a primary impulse to the exercise of appellate jurisdiction was the protection of the crown's interests, it was not unlikely that political rather than legal considerations would govern under certain circumstances.

The position of the crown was that English law was a standard with which, all things being equal, compliance would be exacted in the colonies. Hence, the extent to which judicial review was exercised over colonial decisions would determine the degree to which American courts conformed to the common law. That such conformity was found to a greater extent in the eighteenth century than in the seventeenth bespeaks in no small measure the activities of such regulatory agencies as the council. As the author brings out in his review of the Parsons' Cause, the question as to whether or not colonial laws could be void *ab initio* as a result of decisions of the Privy Council was still unsettled by the eve of the Revolution, although the better opinion was that they were not.

The author has tallied fifteen hundred appeals in the council register between the years 1696 and 1783, coming from thirty-five different jurisdictions. But such a quantitative evaluation by itself may give a distorted impression of the operations of the council. In the field of common law civil jurisdiction only the courts of Rhode Island, Virginia, and Massachusetts, of the continental colonies, were subject to fairly well-sustained control by the council. Neither criminal appeals nor chancery matters were effectively supervised. The former were largely restricted to the early decades of the eighteenth century and relate primarily to Barbados. Control of chancery was confined to the West Indies. While in most of the colonies affirmances and reversals are fairly evenly divided, with the latter having a slight edge, in Rhode Island reversals outnumbered affirmances by three-to-one.

From such statistics it would hardly be safe to conclude that the colonists were enamored of the common law. Only where its procedure coincided with their own interests did they demand it as they did other rights of Englishmen. The council, on the other hand, took a dim view of colonial law and lawyers and devoted little effort to determining the economic needs of the colonists. In the long run, this contemptuous attitude toward colonial interests encouraged a spirit of independency. On the basic issue of the transplantation of the common law and the

growth of an indigenous legal system in America both Mr. Smith's evidence, unfolded in exhaustive detail, and his commentary, often too tightly interwoven to be easily untangled, must henceforth be carefully considered by scholars who address themselves to the problem.

Columbia University

RICHARD B. MORRIS

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY. By R. V. Coleman. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1951. Pp. xiii, 606. \$5.00.)

In 1948 Mr. Coleman published *The First Frontier*, giving a vivid account of the planting and early development of England's first colonies in America. In the present volume he continues the story for another century, from the British conquest of New Netherland in 1664 through the Stamp Act Congress of 1765.

In discussing the events of this century the author achieves the widest possible geographical coverage. Not content merely to fill in the links in the chain of English colonies along the coast—the Carolinas, Pennsylvania, and Georgia—he gives ample attention to French and Spanish activities within the confines of what is now the United States. Thus the intrigues of the French in the Iroquois country, French exploration and expansion in the upper Mississippi and Ohio Valleys, La Salle's attempt to found a colony in Texas, Spanish expansion into New Mexico and Texas, and the beginnings of Louisiana are all treated in considerable detail, especially the last-named enterprise.

If the scope of the book is broad, territorially speaking, that is no less true in other respects. Mr. Coleman is interested in politics, military affairs, and constitutional issues, but he is also concerned with the economic, social, and cultural life of the time. At least eight of his thirty-one chapters deal exclusively with non-political subjects, while other chapters contain a goodly admixture of the same sort of material.

Basing his volume upon a wide range of original sources, as well as upon many of the standard secondary works, Mr. Coleman has related the story of one hundred years of colonial life interestingly and well. He writes with zest but he makes no attempt at fine writing. Interest never lags. Anyone wishing to refresh himself on the events of this period may spend several pleasant evenings perusing this book. The author has written an excellent work for that large segment of the literate population whose individual members are commonly referred to as "the general reader."

Attempting, as he does, to cover the varied aspects of colonial development over a relatively long period of time, Mr. Coleman could scarcely be expected to uncover any large amount of new material. Undoubtedly he would be the first to admit that he has largely re-examined familiar sources. Nor has he presented a new or novel interpretation of the century in question.

In spite of the variety of topics touched upon by Mr. Coleman, certain

chapters essential to a well-rounded discussion of the period are conspicuously absent. There is no adequate or systematic consideration of the relation of British policy to the economic development of the colonies. The Navigation Acts are sketchily presented, even though frequently referred to in the index. The Iron Act of 1750 is not mentioned. There is no connected account of the problem of colonial currency. The Currency Act of 1764 is omitted. Paper money is discussed only in reference to Massachusetts. Other colonies were more notorious offenders in this respect. This reviewer finds little evidence of the use of Wertebaker's researches either in the discussion of Bacon's Rebellion or in the treatment of the evolution of the tobacco economy of Virginia.

The proportions of the volume may be questioned by some of its readers. The author devotes twenty-eight pages to the founding of Louisiana. But he disposes of the era from 1754 through the Stamp Act Congress in thirty-seven pages, even though he derives the title of the volume from a slogan used in those momentous years.

Mr. Coleman has done his work with great care. Only an occasional slip is to be found. On page 568 C. W. Alvord is correctly cited, but elsewhere on the same page he becomes "Alford."

Ninety illustrations enhance the general attractiveness of the volume.

Brown University

JAMES B. HEDGES

LETTERS OF BENJAMIN RUSH. Volume I: 1761-1792. Volume II: 1793-1813. Edited by L. H. Butterfield. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XXX, Parts 1 and 2.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press for American Philosophical Society. 1951. Pp. lxxxvii, 624; 627-1295. \$15.00.)

THOSE who have cherished the scattered letters of Dr. Benjamin Rush owe a debt of gratitude to all concerned in the publication of these two volumes of letters, about two thirds of which have never been published before. Mr. Butterfield has been an associate editor of the Jefferson writings, and he maintains the same high standards in this work. The footnotes at the end of each letter are a mine of information. They add value to every letter and are often more important than the letters themselves. The letters are placed in context, people and events are identified, and problems are clarified.

The letters of such men as Rush are of particular importance for the history of the Revolutionary era. Too many ideas concerning the period have been determined by the partially published letters of a few political leaders; almost never have the letters to them been published. Thus we see the issues as a few men saw them and we see them without knowing what was in the letters they were answering. The one exception is the edition of Jefferson's writings now under way. The letters to Rush are not printed by Butterfield, but they are identified and located and often their main points are summarized.

Rush was one of the "secondary figures" of his time (politically speaking at least); yet in many ways his letters are as important for an understanding of the history of the period as are those of a Hamilton or a Jefferson. He knew most of the great political leaders. He wrote to them and they to him. Rush was a man with vigorous opinions. He had warm friends and even warmer enemies. He never hesitated to write what he thought about both. Doubtless he was indiscreet, as the editor suggests, but Rush declared that "prudence is a rascally virtue" and we can be grateful that he thought so.

Rush's greatest influence was in the field of medicine. He was busy most of his adult life as a doctor, as a teacher of medicine, and as a vigorous pamphleteer and essayist. He had vast influence on his own and subsequent generations of doctors. Not all of that influence was good. It could be said that a nation bled for Rush and his disciples for he was convinced that bleeding was the remedy for almost every ailment. Nevertheless, he believed in the importance of sanitation, fresh air, and good diet, and urged these as vigorously as he did bloodletting. He advised all of his friends about their ailments and how to cure them. His advice to President Jefferson on how to cure his digestive ailments is highly diverting. His letters on the yellow fever epidemic in 1793 are an extraordinary series. His enemies said that he killed as many patients as the yellow fever did, but he displayed magnificent courage and left a remarkable record of the event. He was for a time surgeon general in the Revolutionary army. His accounts of the horrors of military hospitals illuminate a little-known side of military history. He battled Dr. William Shippen, director general of the hospitals, and charged him with incompetence and outright corruption. Rush was forced to resign although he seems clearly to have been in the right.

A busy life as doctor and teacher was not enough for Rush. He was active and influential in the movements for prison reform, the abolition of slavery, temperance, and modernizing education. In addition he played a sporadic though often important part in politics. He was a member of Congress in 1776 and ardently supported independence. He took part in the debates over the Articles of Confederation and showed himself to be a strong nationalist—and loyal—when he argued for representation in Congress according to population, rather than by states. He opposed the democratic Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776 and joined in the fight against it until it was replaced by the Constitution of 1790. He was a supporter of a strong central government for the United States, but he split with the Federalist party because of Hamilton's financial program. He believed it to be shot through with injustice and corruption and became a follower of Jefferson. Yet he remained a friend of John Adams and brought about a reconciliation between Adams and Jefferson in 1811 and 1812. He was thus directly responsible for the great series of letters between those two men, 1812–1826, which are soon to be published in full for the first time.

This account by no means covers all the facets of Rush's career but enough

has been said to indicate its variety and importance and the significance of his letters.

University of Wisconsin

MERRILL JENSEN

GENERAL CHARLES LEE: TRAITOR OR PATRIOT? By *John Richard Alden*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 369. \$4.75.)

LEE has waited long for a competent biographer. The same was true of Mr. Alden's previous subject, Thomas Gage, who played an equally crucial role in the American Revolution. But there the resemblance ends. Gage, for all his kindness and competence, was an essentially dull man. Lee, for all his rancor and imprudence, was an arresting person by the standards of any age. His career had ingredients that challenge a biographer, as Gage's had not—the English officer casting in his lot with rebels, rising to a position that rivaled Washington's, then captured and threatened with hanging; the triumphant return to the American army on the eve of Monmouth, then court-martial and oblivion. Mr. Alden handles these ingredients with quiet skill. He is avowedly partial to Lee, yet he deals fairly with controversial issues; above all he brings out the character of the man. He did as much for Gage, and as works of scholarship there is little to choose between the two biographies. But as literature *General Lee* is far superior.

The central thesis of the book is suggested by the subtitle. Mr. Alden concludes that Lee, whether or not he was a patriot in the conventional sense, was not a traitor to the American cause: he did not betray it but attempted to compromise it when he became convinced that compromise would best serve the interests of both sides. Although this thesis cannot be conclusively proved, Mr. Alden makes a cogent case. He is particularly persuasive in disposing of the suspicion that Lee's actions at Monmouth were treasonable. The reader may not be convinced that the verdict reached by the court-martial and confirmed by Congress ran counter to the evidence, but he will find it hard to deny that the decision was political rather than judicial—a vote of confidence in Washington more than a condemnation of Lee. The error of forcing a decision was Lee's; it reflects on his judgment, not his loyalty. "If I have . . . been guilty of any treason," he wrote to Congress in 1780 (p. 352, n. 14), "it has been against myself alone, in not once from the beginning of the contest to this day consulting common prudence with respect to my own affairs."

Mr. Alden has a subsidiary thesis, less important and less convincing, that Lee as a general "seems to have been superior to Washington and Nathaniel Greene" (p. 306). On what does this judgment rest? Lee's reputation was established when he was credited—Mr. Alden thinks justly—with saving Charleston in 1776; British accounts, however, indicate that the town was saved primarily by the attackers' blunders and the accuracy of fire from a fort that Lee had wished to

evacuate. During the subsequent campaign in New York and New Jersey Lee scarcely proved himself Washington's superior: the commander in chief did save the army for the later counterattack at Trenton, whereas Lee's most important act was to get himself captured. The blindness to danger that led him to that disaster seems to have recurred at Monmouth, where his generalship was scarcely immune to criticism: he made an attack which he considered hazardous, and from which he could retreat only by the way he had come; yet he apparently failed to reconnoiter the ground and, when he did have to retire, had no notion of where to find a defensible position. None of this suggests comparison with the best generalship of Washington or Greene.

If Lee was not the military genius that Americans thought him before his disgrace, his reputation thereafter sank so low that his real services were obscured. Mr. Alden has made them clear again, has defended their author with objectivity and balance against the charge of calculated treason, and in general has rendered him a justice long overdue. In the process he has done what is far more difficult and important: he has brought Lee alive, with all his anomalies and moodiness, and has shown us a person whom no reader will soon forget.

University of Michigan

WILLIAM B. WILLCOX

THE JEFFERSONIANS: A STUDY IN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY, 1801-1829. By *Leonard D. White*, University of Chicago. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1951. Pp. xiv, 572. \$6.00.)

THE administrative history of the early years of the American republic was unexplored territory until Leonard White, of the University of Chicago, assumed the labor of trail-blazing. American historians have reason to be grateful for his first pioneer study on *The Federalists*, and for the present volume, its successor, *The Jeffersonians*. By the largely inclusive term "Jeffersonians," Mr. White covers the administrations of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams—the latter for the first time now treated as a "Jeffersonian" in order to make way for a very different caliber of democratic leadership and administration with the advent of the Jackson era. The verdict on these "Jeffersonians" is that they ably "carried the Federalist administrative machine forward without substantial alteration in form or in spirit for nearly three decades. . . . It was well that these added years of consolidation and maturity were possible before the vast changes that the steam locomotive was to launch burst upon the country."

While Mr. White is disposed to think kindly of the Jeffersonians, he can not, from his professional vantage point, grant them the praise for innovation and creation that he reserves for the Federalists, and particularly for the super-administrator, Alexander Hamilton. Mr. White is under the impression that the function of the Jeffersonians was more negative than positive: they inherited a working administrative machinery, designed by the Federalists, and they tried to

direct it toward peace, economy, discharge of the debt, reduction of the army and navy, protection of the rights of the states and of the citizen. They had, he feels, little opportunity for "constructive experimentation." This view is not entirely substantiated by the material included in the book, nor is it adequate to the realities of early American administrative history.

In the first place, Mr. White himself indicates, in his treatment of Jefferson's use of discretionary powers during the bold experiment of the Embargo, that this great statesman was indeed venturing into an untried experiment. The power of the chosen weapon, embargo, proved to be faulty. But it demonstrated that the government possessed a system strong enough to enforce the Embargo, and that it could avail itself of emergency legislation, backed by the moral authority of the government itself. The Embargo was the first venture in the field of economic warfare in America, and, as such, should not be ignored in assessing the administrative imaginativeness of the Jeffersonians.

In the second place, Mr. White fails to comprehend the importance of the Louisiana Purchase for Jefferson's theory of executive leadership in a republic. He devotes one brief paragraph to this momentous issue and dismisses it with the comment that Jefferson abandoned his scruples because the stakes were so enormous. Jefferson himself wrote the classic justification of his position, showing that he did not abandon his moral scruples but on the contrary that "It is incumbent on those only who accept of great charges, to risk themselves on great occasions, when the safety of the nation, or some of its very high interests are at stake." In short, the law of self-preservation takes precedence over a strict observance of the written laws. This conception of executive leadership is still packed with meaning for our future.

In the third place, Mr. White considers the development of administrative procedures as the work of the Federalists, and all subsequent efforts as minor. But Madison, in his vigorous role in the first Congress, and as trusted adviser to President Washington, played a significant part in shaping the executive departments. More than that, he established the tone and morality of republican institutions, by preventing the assumption of honorific titles and court ceremonies. Jefferson, as the first Secretary of State, contributed in a real sense to the theory of a strong executive, and in his quarrel with Hamilton, then Secretary of the Treasury, blocked future attempts on the part of one vital agency from swallowing up another or all others.

Finally, Mr. White keeps his attention on administration in the narrow sense, thereby overvaluing power and efficiency as against free government. In this process, he does not give credit to Jefferson and Madison for circumventing Federalist John Adams' attempt to muzzle the free press in the United States. By their effective campaign against the Alien and Sedition Acts, the Republican leaders preserved the democratic structure of American society—namely, that the government is not above criticism. Because they succeeded in safeguarding a free press

and free speech, the Jeffersonians found that they had less to do in the way of sweeping reforms when they assumed power in "the revolution of 1800." Mr. White's habit of confining himself to patent administrative matters, and ignoring the wider setting of free society, leads to the apotheosis of means over ends. This would be a true Hamiltonian success—without democracy.

New York University

ADRIENNE KOCH

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS: HIS THEORY AND IDEAS. By *George A. Lipsky*, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California. Foreword by Allan Nevins. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1950. Pp. xii, 347. \$4.50.)

Mr. Lipsky's book on John Quincy Adams performs the long-needed task of presenting Adams' ideas in a systematic form. On the whole Mr. Lipsky has succeeded. He admires his subject but never loses the capacity to view him with detachment. Dealing with an enormous quantity of material, he avoids the temptation to oversimplify. If Mr. Lipsky errs in any respect it is in a tendency to avoid taking a positive stand where it might seem desirable, in occasionally presenting all the evidence and leaving it for the reader to draw a conclusion.

He demonstrates the consistency of Adams' ideas and traces with skill and in great detail the interrelationship between Adams' religious views, his version of the natural law doctrine, his republicanism, and his attitude toward public office. Adams' political principles were for him a matter of revealed truth, not experimental knowledge. Public office was literally a sacred trust to be conducted in accordance with the dictates of conscience and the laws of reason, not the humor of a popular majority. The similarity in thought and personality between Adams and the early New England Puritans is an important and obvious one to which Lipsky pays little attention. Nothing was more conventional in New England Puritan thought than its professions of humility, and in this and many other respects John Quincy Adams betrayed his indebtedness to his New England heritage.

Mr. Lipsky's sins like the one cited above are largely sins of omission though he does present Adams' attitude toward democracy and his philosophy of internal improvement in a questionable light. Mr. Lipsky is an eminently cautious man, and, in challenging his conclusions, it is a matter of disputing emphases, not confronting dogmatic statements. He asserts (p. 108) of Adams that "many years passed before he came to admit the power of democratic arguments," and later (p. 120) he lays stress on the fact that Adams as he grew older became less devoted to the status quo. It is certainly true that Lipsky doesn't claim Adams as a convert to democracy, but the implication is misleading. As democracy triumphed, Adams' dissatisfaction led him to adopt what was on the whole a reactionary position. At best Adams resigned himself to democracy, convinced

like his grandson that the logic of republican institutions was irresistible and wondering like Burke whether to resist change on so massive a scale was not an act of impiety toward a cosmic design. Certainly he never embraced a society which elevated mediocrity to office, dissipated the public estate, countenanced the extension of slavery, and attacked what Adams considered to be the legitimate rights of property.

Mr. Lipsky also overemphasizes the claim of Adams as a progenitor of the welfare state. He is right that in some respects (pp. 138-39) Adams is closer to Franklin Roosevelt than Andrew Jackson, but he is closer to Hoover than Lipsky is willing to admit. Adams' right to be considered as the father of a program of direct aid to the working classes is based not on any elaborate projects undertaken during his presidency or even on an explicit statement of the need for such a program during his administration but is largely derived from two subsequent declarations of intent, one made in a private letter, the other incorporated in a public address. Adams was for his time a very enlightened conservative, but it is scarcely just to consider him as anticipating the New Deal. The overwhelming emphasis in his program was on the development of the commonweal through aid to business in a number of ways, a variant of the "what helps business helps you" philosophy.

Mr. Lipsky reveals a major weakness in dealing with the question of Adams' politics. He asserts (p. 257) that Adams "became at best a hesitant Jeffersonian," and later (p. 261) that Adams was never an anti-Federalist and never became a republican. What was he? Lipsky confessed that Adams was *sui generis*, defying classification. The case is not so hopeless. If Publicola's and Adams' attack on Fisher Ames are taken together it is possible to measure the difference between John Quincy Adams' views and those of Jefferson on the one hand and those of Adams, the Essex Junto, and Hamilton on the other. These same papers reveal the depth of John Quincy Adams' indebtedness to his father. It was a kind of James Mill-John Stuart Mill relationship with the significant difference that the son never rebelled against the father. It is unfortunate that the author has relied on John Locke as the primary source of John Quincy Adams' ideas when the evidence for the influence of John Adams on his son is so impressive. Mr. Lipsky has written a good book. It is only to be regretted in the light of his obvious ability and industry that he lacked sufficient background to write a book with broader significance.

Clark University

W. F. DOWLING, JR.

THE ESSENTIAL NEW YORKER: GULIAN CROMMELIN VERPLANCK.

By Robert W. Joly. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1951. Pp. vii, 313. \$5.00.)

THOUGH immature minds have never been able to resist the temptation of

sneering at those of the rich and well-born who meddle with anything besides increasing their incomes, students of American history must recognize the debt all of us owe to the often undramatic men of means who, time and time again, have made life worth living, not only for artists and writers grown bored with Bohemia but also for the average citizen suspicious of political extremists left and right. New York City has been particularly happy in the number of its public servants of this class; most of them lawyers, most of them conservatives, they have occasionally made an artist feel he was genuinely appreciated, rallied behind many a reformer in public office. The grocer Luman Reed, who doted on the paintings of his contemporary Thomas Cole, belonged to this select circle. So did the late Henry Stimson. And so, too, did Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, who, at last, eighty-one years after his death, is the subject of an admirable biography by Robert W. July.

As July admits, Verplanck today is almost totally forgotten. But as readers of July will be bound to confess, the fault may lie less in Verplanck than in our failure to recognize the extent of his services to New York and the nation. Though he was never handed the choicest political plums, he made an invaluable assemblyman, state senator, and congressman. In Albany he saw to it that more money was spent more wisely on our schools, and when Seward began his battle against the depression of 1837 by devoting state funds to public works, backed him to the limit. In Washington this ex-Federalist turned Jacksonian displayed his political independence by defending the Bank of the United States. No friend of extreme protectionists, he drafted a sensible tariff bill in 1832, and was too dignified to groan when his measure was scrapped by Henry Clay.

Verplanck was also a genial patron of the artists of his day, no matter if he was accused of being close in money matters. He did his best to persuade Washington Allston to decorate the Capitol, and, when Allston hung back, made it possible for Vanderlyn, Weir, Inman, and Chapman to secure their commissions. No wonder he was elected the first president of the Century Association.

Certain of July's readers may wish that he had quoted more liberally from the Verplanck papers, made more of his relations with Thomas Cole. And students of architecture may feel that July failed to underline Verplanck's unusual understanding of the aims of our romantic architects. But after all, a book is not to be judged by the whimpers of captious specialists. Besides being a careful scholar, July writes with genuine charm and quotes from his hero with such discretion that not a few of us will be dipping into Verplanck's works this winter.

Verplanck himself would be pleased with July's gentle emphasis on his importance. And the modest old president of the Century would no doubt be the first to hope that the author's talents be devoted in the future to more spectacular figures. If his next book deals with a famous man, July should reach the large audience he deserves.

RAYMOND OF THE TIMES. By *Francis Brown*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1951. Pp. viii, 345. \$5.00.)

STUDENTS of journalism and nineteenth-century America have long felt the need for a full-length biography of Henry Jarvis Raymond, western New York farm boy, graduate of the University of Vermont, founder of the *New York Times*, close friend of Thurlow Weed and William H. Seward, lieutenant governor of his native state, confidante of Lincoln and manager of his campaign for reelection in 1864, supporter of Andrew Johnson, congressman, and, at all times, ardent worker for the preservation of the Union. This book, the product of a skilled historical craftsman, admirably meets that need. In fact it does far more, for its author, the editor of the weekly *New York Times Book Review*, has done a double job: a meticulously etched portrait of Raymond with especial emphasis upon the political features of his career and a chronicle of the early history of a great newspaper.

The book is well proportioned and is built upon a sound foundation of source material much of which has been used for the first time. Of the twenty-three chapters the first seven, totaling approximately one hundred pages, sketch the contemporary scene and trace Raymond's activities to the founding of the *Times* in the spring of 1841. The next seven chapters carry through to the formation of the Republican party and the eve of the Civil War. The remainder of the book covers Raymond's part as a newspaperman and political spokesman during the war years and the Johnson administration. The concluding chapter "Into the Valley" is the story of Raymond's last years, his untimely death at the age of forty-nine, and an estimate of the man and his work.

Within the confines of a brief review it is quite impossible to do justice to this important historical contribution. Some there are, perhaps, who after reading this book will feel that Mr. Brown has not explored as fully as he should the domestic aspects of Raymond's life. This reviewer is not among them. That Raymond's home life was far from happy, the author makes clear. He is also frank in pointing out that Mrs. Raymond was a difficult person with whom to live and that her husband had a penchant for pretty women and was much in their company. In the opinion of this reviewer Mr. Brown was under no obligation to go beyond this clear statement of the facts.

Students of social history will find in this volume much valuable material. Scattered throughout the book are not only pen pictures of politicians great and less great, of editors such as Horace Greeley of the *Tribune*, James Gordon Bennett of the *Herald*, and James Watson Webb of the *Courier and Enquirer*, but summary paragraphs of happenings in New York, Saratoga, Newport, Washington, and elsewhere. In municipal politics he had little interest. Occasionally, however, he joined with civic leaders and businessmen in the cause of good local government. While the poverty and ugliness of the city's slums distressed him,

he did little or nothing to eliminate the causes of these festering sores. Reform, social or political, was not in his blood.

Once launched, the *Times* meant more to him than anything in the world. He resolved that in politics as in all else it should always be an independent sheet. The paper's proper business, he said, was "to publish *facts* in such form and temper as to lead men of all parties to rely upon its statements of facts, and then to discuss them in the light of truth and justice, and not of party interest." From this principle Raymond never deviated though he was sometimes under pressure to do so. Unlike most of its contemporaries, the *Times* studiously avoided that which was cheap, vulgar, and sensational. Raymond's golden rule for editors and reporters set a high standard: "get all the news; never indulge in personalities; treat all men civilly; put all your strength into your work, and remember that a daily newspaper should be an accurate reflection of the world as it is."

Mr. Brown neither debunks nor glorifies. From the first page to the last he retains his objectivity without cramping his lively and at times dramatic presentation. Like most humans the Raymond who is portrayed in this book had both his strengths and weaknesses. Though small of physical stature and never robust he was at all times urbane, affable, affectionate, a witty and interesting conversationalist, and at all times one who was sought out because of his charm and sociability. Though thought of by some as a "political trimmer" the weight of evidence indicates that he was a person of greatest integrity. Conservative in outlook, opposed to extremism, having ability to see both sides, a great nationalist, and an ardent advocate of personal and civil liberty—these, along with belief in excellence of performance and devotion to duty and hard work were the traits which endeared him to others. But there were weaknesses too. One was his inability to rise above political disappointment. Another was his lack of realistic appraisal of public opinion. He had a well-trained mind but was lacking in a high degree of originality. Though he put country above party he was nevertheless incurably addicted to party politics. All who read this book will agree, this reviewer believes, with Mr. Brown that the New York *Times* was Raymond's real monument.

Columbia University

HARRY J. CARMAN

THE ILLINOIS MILITARY TRACT: A STUDY OF LAND OCCUPATION, UTILIZATION, AND TENURE. By *Theodore L. Carlson*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XXXII, No. 2.] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1951. Pp. vii, 218. Paper \$2.50, cloth \$3.50.)

THE Illinois Military Tract was one of three reserves created out of the public domain in which land bounties given to soldiers of the War of 1812 could be located. Because a high proportion of the veterans never moved to their locations but sold their rights to speculators whose hopes for quick profits were dashed by

the slowness with which emigration moved into the region, its titles became involved with tax liens, squatters' claims, occupying tenants' rights, and judgment titles. To protect their interests patent title holders organized against tax title owners, squatters invoked the aid of the traditional claim association and local residents angrily discriminated against absentee owners who paid their taxes reluctantly, if at all. Withal a bevy of land agents, dealers, speculators, loan sharks, and frontier lawyers flourished and waxed fat on the confusion. Had the bounties been assignable and subject to location anywhere on the public domain, as was the case with those of the Mexican War, some of this difficulty might have been avoided. The Military Tract, an area possessing common characteristics of soil, climate, topography, and later a homogeneous population, and an area bedeviled for years by confusion over land titles, developed a certain regionalism which made it a "natural" for analysis.

"A Study of Land Occupation, Utilization, and Tenure" is an ambitious project if it is to be intensively conducted, even for part of a state like Illinois. Previous studies dealing with the settlement of Illinois, its colonization railroad, its second railroad, and its canal made the way easier. The author follows familiar paths in part, but he also strikes out into new areas. The story of early settlement adds little to the account by Pooley and Boggess though it is pin-pointed a little more and the account of agricultural development is familiar though the author has added a good deal of useful statistical analysis. The treatment of types of farming is both fresher and more enlightening. The author has spared the reader the detail of the well-known farmers' revolt but brings out the indignation of the farmer at the Burlington Railroad, which received numerous public subventions but disregarded farmers' welfare in its rate structure.

The greatest value and principal weakness of Carlson's study is in the discussion of land policies and tenure. The confusion of titles, the conflict between absentee speculators dealing in both patent and tax titles and squatters and other resident owners with at least a color of title is well analyzed. I wished for more information concerning the fate of absentee ownership, the success of the New York and Boston Illinois Land Company and numerous other extensive holders of titles. Was the \$15 dividend of the Munn Land Company a repayment of principal or was it from earnings? How could eleven of the twenty-eight large holders of land in the Military Tract sell more land than they seem to have bought? What happened to the new group of landlords whose extensive holdings were acquired in the mid-nineteenth century? Among these were the Park-Lawrence holding of sixty farms in Illinois and Missouri, but mostly in the Military Tract, the Columbus R. Cummings holding of sixty-two farms containing 14,200 acres in Adams and Tazewell counties, the latter of course being outside the tract. What is the origin of the Gale and Straus holdings?

Professor Carlson agrees in part with Destler's view that farm mortgages in the tract in the nineties were evidences of improvement and capital expansion, but seems to think the growth of tenancy was the result of unfavorable economic

conditions. He is skeptical of the working of the agricultural ladder and shows that there was a considerable displacement of older American tenant farmers who were discouraged by their failure to gain ownership and who, toward the end of the century, moved farther west to try anew. He does not link this displacement of older stock, now quite disillusioned in the period of Populism, with recent European arrivals who willingly, in fact anxiously, took over their rents. These new tenants were not inclined to revolt, to join the Populists, to shout for government regulation and ownership of the railroads and warehouses.

Carlson has made good use of the deed and mortgage records in the recorders' offices, but he might have carried further his searches into the probate and tax records which would have given information concerning the large holdings, rental payments, collections, profits and losses in land sales and land management. Much can be learned about landlord-tenant relations from these records, and also the court records involving suits of ejectment, landlords' liens, and even assault and battery cases. A weakness of this study is that it is too largely statistical. Had private collections of papers or even those in public hands, such as the Romulus Riggs manuscripts been searched we might have had more of the practical experiences of the speculator, the squatter, the landlord, the owner-operator, or the tenant. Certainly, the story could have been more broadly based, variations and exceptions to the census statistics would have appeared, and more life would have been instilled in the treatment.

Cornell University

PAUL W. GATES

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, 1851-1951. By *James Gray*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1951. Pp. xvii, 609. \$3.75.)

THE history of any public institution in the United States over a period of a century must inevitably present the story of hostilities, resentments, and frustrations. The University of Minnesota in the first hundred years of its existence was not exempt from these, but how these were overcome and how by the end of the century there emerged an institution in which the people of Minnesota may "feel a surge of pride and a renewal of confidence" provide the theme for the interesting record described by Mr. James Gray.

Some readers may doubt the wisdom of one of the requirements placed upon the author by the university administration that the record should be limited to one volume of reasonable size, but no one can say that Mr. Gray has not successfully met the second requirement "that it be readable by any member of the huge university family or their friends, wherever they may be." There are pages, it must be admitted, when the reader is reminded of an earlier chronicle with its long lists of "begats," but in the end patience is rewarded and an interesting phase of American culture in general and of American education in particular is unfolded.

Nevertheless the volume does challenge comparison with another written to

celebrate the centennial of the University of Manchester (1851-1951). This book, *Portrait of a University* by Professor H. B. Charlton, is only 185 pages in length but conveys an idea of the university more clearly without encumbering the portrait with the vast amount of detail in the Minnesota volume. Allowances must, of course, be made for the slower progress of the British university, the absence of many of the points of tension found in the American institution, and the difference in the concept of the function of a university in the two countries. The shorter volume is likely to have a greater appeal to the general reader, while the other is important as a record *pro domo*.

The pattern of the volume does not become clear for some time, but once comprehended it appears that the formidable task undertaken by Mr. Gray was to weave together into one composite tapestry the following four strands: the gradual development of the idea of a university; town and gown or, more precisely, politics and education; the personalities of the leaders of the university's destiny—its presidents and deans; and the contributions of the scholars who gave the university its character and place. The weaving of the four strands together is not recognized as the process goes on, but in the end there stands out a picture of a university which, for the time being at any rate, has surmounted crisis after crisis to become an institution whose "activities," as President Coffey said in his farewell address, "have become interwoven with the fabric of life in Minnesota. There is scarcely a family with whom it has not had instructional contact; the results of its research have made life better and more secure in rural and metropolitan areas alike; its services, whether in providing medical care for the sick, in helping the farmer with his problems, or in aiding industry and the professions, ramify throughout the entire population."

To this idea of a university each president from Folwell on made his own particular contribution always with one guiding aim in mind—to devote scholarship and professional training to the service of the people of Minnesota. It was this aim that demanded adaptability, fluidity, and experimentation, and it was with this aim before it that the university grew from a series of separate schools and colleges, general and professional, into an integrated organism. Of this Folwell had already had a vision in 1869, except that he thought of a university as a federation of schools.

It is characteristic of American higher education that its story should be told in terms of administration. Perhaps this is inevitable in a system in which the university president is the link between the university and its board of trustees and alumni, and in a state institution between the university and its board of regents, the legislature, the alumni, and the public. Seven of the ten books which make up the volume under review are named for one of the presidents. It is not until one comes to the ninth book that those who really make a university or any educational institution—the teachers—are paid the tribute that they merit.

The volume will hold the interest of all members of the huge family of the

University of Minnesota. For those interested in higher education the most significant part of the volume will be the story of the gradual evolution of the American idea of a university as traced through the history of the University of Minnesota.

New York, N.Y.

I. L. KANDEL

MIDWESTERN PROGRESSIVE POLITICS: A HISTORICAL STUDY OF ITS ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT, 1870-1950. By *Russel B. Nye*. (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press. 1951. Pp. 422. \$5.00.)

FOR all our glib familiarity with the idea of federalism, we Americans do not understand its application to our nation very well. We think of the United States as if it were in fact, as it is in law, a union of forty-eight states, and we assume that the issue of state rights vs. federal power still has real meaning. Technically, of course, this is true, but actually the task of our national government is primarily to hold together a group of sections—eight, or ten, or a dozen of them—with hazy and sometimes shifting boundaries, and with deeply conflicting interests. It was not state rights but a great sectional controversy that precipitated the Civil War. And today the necessity of recognizing sectional opinions in such a way as not to offend too greatly any one section determines to a great extent the character of our political parties, our national government, and even our foreign policy.

Such a sectional study as the one under review is therefore of major importance. The Middle West was not inhabited exclusively by hell-raising Populists and discontented Progressives, but it contained enough people of that stripe to make it, almost from the time of its origin, a focal center of strictly 100 per cent American radicalism. Mr. Nye is dead right in recognizing the fact that the radicalism to which Middle Westerners gave voice was a peculiar and indigenous radicalism.

Theirs was not the spirit of the roaring camps of the gold trail, nor the Billy-the-Kid lawlessness of the cattle states, nor the rebelliousness of the city workers of the East, the coal miners of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, or the textile workers of the Southeast. It was not a class protest, nor a struggle of labor against capital in the Marxian sense. The Midwest's spirit of protest is simply its own, compounded out of its geography, its culture, its economic and social history. There is nothing else quite like it in the world [pp. 1-2].

To study from early beginnings to the present time the unfolding of the Middle Western spirit of protest is the purpose of this book. The author is right again in assuming the continuity of the movement. The Grangers, the Greenbackers, the Populists, the Insurgents, and the La Follette Progressives had much in common. Twentieth-century Middle Western Progressivism was in very truth the "lineal descendant of nineteenth century revolt." It was motivated by "the

same ideas travelling in the same direction, with new leaders, new vitality, and new weapons, against the old forces of privilege and corruption" (p. 196). It was individualistic, not socialistic; it favored governmental regulation and control of industry, not ownership and operation. As La Follette, the most authentic voice of twentieth-century Middle Western radicalism, well understood, the mission of the true Progressive was to defend capitalism "against itself," since "capitalism, unless checked, was almost certain to commit suicide, dragging democracy down with it" (p. 220).

The chief value of this book lies in the fact that it draws together into one chronological synthesis all the various phases of Middle Western protest. Much that is here presented is by no means new; what is new is the careful way in which sequential relationships are established. Often unnoticed, but here given due emphasis, is the part played by such "young rebel economists" as Richard T. Ely and John R. Commons, who, together with other Middle Western thinkers, produced a genuine "political philosophy of progressivism." It was this "capture of the ivory tower" that provided progressive agitators with some of the best of the weapons they were to use against social Darwinism and the "gospel of wealth." But it was an Easterner, Woodrow Wilson, who, according to Mr. Nye, deserves major credit for providing "the leadership" and "the opportunity" to put the greatest number of progressive measures into effect (p. 307). Oddly enough, F. D. Roosevelt and the New Deal fare rather badly in comparison. Mr. Nye is quite correct in pointing out that Wilson's ability to conceive of the United States "in federal terms" had much to do with his successes, but he seems to see in Roosevelt's even greater genius along the same line something sinister and offensive. Obviously, the peculiar point of view of one section could not be permitted to dominate the nation as a whole, something that Roosevelt fully understood. But if Middle Western Progressivism is on the decline today, it is not because it was betrayed by the New Deal; rather, it is because it achieved under Roosevelt's leadership so many of the ends for which it long had fought.

The book is delightfully written, and the narrative moves along with splendid momentum, at least until the post-World War I period, when there is a noticeable letdown. The Nonpartisan League of North Dakota, for example, is rather sketchily treated, and William Lemke's candidacy for the presidency in 1936 is overlooked entirely. Sometimes, unfortunately, the author is less careful of his facts than of his rhetoric. It was Horace Greeley, not Garfield, who made the extravagant defense of protectionism he quotes (p. 40). Governor Boyd of Nebraska was a Democrat, not a Republican (p. 63). Ignatius Donnelly sat in the national House of Representatives for three terms, but he was never, to his great sorrow, a United States senator (p. 66). The Arizona constitution, framed during Taft's administration, provided for the recall of judges, but that of New Mexico did not (p. 279). Theodore Roosevelt set up a Bureau of Corporations in the Department of Commerce and Labor, not a Bureau of Commissions (p. 257).

It was not the state legislature, but an individual, Treadwell Twitchell, who was accused of telling the North Dakota farmers to "Go home and slop the hogs!" (p. 312). "EPIC," at least west of the Sierra, generally meant "End Poverty in California," rather than "End Poverty in Civilization." And the definition of "free silver" as "that the government should coin all silver offered it at the rate of sixteen grains of silver to one of gold, rather than eight to one" (p. 59), will require considerable explaining. But, with the possible exception of the last, these are minor errors. The book is a substantial contribution to the literature of American history, and most college students who elect that subject will find it on their reading lists for a generation to come.

University of California, Berkeley

JOHN D. HICKS

JOE TUMULTY AND THE WILSON ERA. By *John M. Blum*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1951. Pp. ix, 337. \$4.00.)

Mr. Blum has written a sympathetic biography of an attractive, genial and astute politician who had the wit to attach himself to the right man at the right time and, by assisting in his advancement, to rise with him. The story of Joseph P. Tumulty's training in the boss-ridden wards of Jersey City's "Horseshoe," of his achievement of influence and power first in Trenton and then in Washington, and of his subsequent lapse from presidential grace is well told and supported by a mass of documentation from sources not hitherto available.

Joe Tumulty and the Wilson Era is of significance primarily to the student of American politics, for it provides a classic case study of the creation and maintenance of a political machine. Tumulty was a master of the skills required to keep together those coalitions of diverse interests that are called political parties. Mr. Blum's skillful portrayal of the manner in which Tumulty's political instinct, sense of publicity, and use of patronage responded to assuage the threats to Democratic solidarity created by such disturbing influences as the Klan, the Irish and the Catholic questions, and the problem of the "hyphenated Americans" throws light on the inner workings of a party machine such as is not often available. The student of administration will also be interested in the operation of the office of a President in those days when it was possible to combine in one man the now fragmented functions of private secretary, political adviser, party manager, sounding board, and friend.

Most people, however, will read this book for the light it may throw on Woodrow Wilson and on the major problems of his administration. Unfortunately, in doing something more than justice to Joe Tumulty, Mr. Blum has done something less to his principal. The Wilson that emerges is crotchety, stubborn, disloyal, arrogant. He was all of these, of course; but he was much more. The emphasis on these characteristics results in a political cartoon rather than a balanced portrait of Wilson. Nowhere is this distortion clearer than in

Mr. Blum's treatment of Wilson's sad fight for the Versailles Treaty, in which Tumulty appears as the man whose sane political compromises might have saved the treaty (and the party) had it not been for the sick and stubborn Wilson.

Such distortion is probably inevitable in a book about a man whose major purpose was to get and keep the votes and who considered loyalty the cardinal virtue, when that book is written by one who seems fully to admire and sympathize with his subject and to accept his criteria. However natural, the upshot, so far as Wilson is concerned, is an account of but one of many influences on his career and on his handling of his administration, but little if any light on its relative significance in making him act and think as he did.

Washington, D.C.

WILLIAM DIAMOND

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1934. In five volumes. Volume II, EUROPE, NEAR EAST, AND AFRICA. [Department of State Publication 4212.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1951. Pp. xcv, 1002. \$3.75.)

As its title indicates, this collection represents a one-year slice from State Department files, covering twenty-two European countries west of Russia and eight actually or theoretically sovereign states of the Near East and Africa. As such, it offers the specialist in American diplomatic history an opportunity to examine in some detail the management of our foreign relations early in the Roosevelt-Hull period. In particular, he can here observe the attitudes—at least the official attitudes—of various individual diplomats as revealed in their correspondence. However, I must restrict myself to noting certain less technical points which are of interest from the European historian's point of view.

Certainly among the most dramatic reports in 1934 were those sent from Vienna by the successive United States ministers, Earle and Messersmith, and by the chargé d'affaires, Kliefoth. Although they add little to even the contemporary newspaper accounts of Dollfuss' assassination by Nazi putschists in July, they present a valuable running account of the background, beginning with the socialist revolt five months earlier. Another item of interest is J. Webb Benton's long report on the German minority in Czechoslovakia. The chargé estimated at this date, four years before Munich, that not more than 25 per cent of this group favored incorporation into the Reich, though he pointed to increasing Nazi influence. From Rome, Addis Ababa, and several other capitals came dispatches and telegrams describing the prelude to Mussolini's Ethiopian adventure.

Inevitably, however, the center of attention is Germany. Almost a third of the book's one thousand pages are devoted to the Third Reich. Here again, most of the facts have long been known; but the reports of Ambassador Dodd and our other representatives in Berlin make absorbing reading, if only because they pull together in something like narrative form the developments of that ominous

year as they broke upon the world. Mounting persecution of the Jews, liquidation of the federal constitution, church conflicts, Nazi labor policies, the significance of Hindenburg's death, and, above all, the Blood Purge, all are described to Washington. Against this background, the tortuous negotiations over commercial privileges and payments to American bondholders strike the reader as pitiful echoes from a calmer past.

These clusters of worth-while documents are, unfortunately, few and far between. Most of the volume's bulk is given over to routine questions of trade relations, foreign military service, relief from double taxation, and the like. As for the section on Rumania—wholly occupied with Minister Davila's chauffeur, who was fined \$26 for speeding in Rhode Island—one can only hope that somewhere there is a student of international law who will benefit from its inclusion. The publication of trivia after the fact must apparently be accepted as the standard catharsis for diplomatic secrecy at the time.

Bennington College

FRANKLIN L. FORD

PROPAGANDA IN WAR AND CRISIS: MATERIALS FOR AMERICAN POLICY. Edited with an Introduction by *Daniel Lerner*. [Library of Policy Sciences.] (New York: George W. Stewart. 1951. Pp. xvi, 500. \$4.75.)

THIS volume is essentially a reference work for historians of the World War II period, social psychologists, and psychological warfare specialists. It has many good points and some weaknesses. The editor is Daniel Lerner of Stanford University, whose first book in the same field, *Sykewar: Psychological Warfare against Germany*, was brought out in 1949 by his present publisher.

The book is a symposium of predominantly republished material in some twenty-seven chapters of varying lengths. The list of contributors includes many of the leading writers in the field of psychological warfare, such as Wallace Carroll, Leonard Doob, Charles D. Jackson, Ernst Kris, Harold D. Lasswell, Paul M. A. Linebarger, Robert Bruce Lockhart, and Hans Speier. Some of these writers have contributed more than one essay to the volume: Lasswell has three to his credit and Speier also three and is co-author of a fourth. This reviewer feels that the contributions of these two writers are among the best in the book.

The material found in this book made its appearance at various times over a twelve-year period. One chapter first appeared in 1939, while one (chap. xxvii) has been "reprinted" in advance. At least five each were published first in 1948 and 1949, while the bulk of the rest of them initially appeared between 1944 and 1947.

The book is arranged in four divisions. The first of these is called "The 20th Century Background" (three chapters). Part II, "Policy, Intelligence, and Propaganda" (eight chapters), includes a subdivision of 158 pages on "The German Case" in which an attempt is made to appraise the performance of the Germans in psychological warfare.

Part III, nine short chapters on "The Organization of Purpose and Persons," deals with problems of personnel and administration, which were perplexing matters indeed in World War II. Part IV, "The Evaluation of Propaganda Effects," consists of seven chapters and for analytical purposes is probably the most useful part of the book.

The subtitle, *Materials for American Policy*, is, the reviewer feels, ambiguous. The scope of the book would have been much better indicated by a subtitle such as "Materials for American World Policy" since it deals very little with the domestic scene.

The reviewer feels also that a description of the structure and work of the OWI, even in condensed form, would have added greatly to the book and would have removed one important omission. For example, Lerner might have reprinted chapter VIII, "Informing the Public," from the volume *The United States at War*, an official and very readable United States government document of 555 pages which appeared in 1946. Chapter VIII is a well-written and authoritative account of the OWI in about thirty pages.

The five chapters of Part II subtitled "The German Case" (referred to above) are well chosen as far as they go. But the editor has seemingly overlooked the inclusion here of a study showing that fatal German error in psychological warfare in utterly failing to capitalize on the deeply rooted internal antipathy throughout many parts of Russia to the Stalin regime, an error which proved ruinous in the end. Two or three first-rate postwar articles have appeared on this subject, such as Wallace Carroll's article, "It Takes a Russian To Beat a Russian," in *Life*, December 19, 1949.

The reviewer feels further that a "post-mortem" on the psychological warfare of Japan, similar to that presented in "The German Case," would have been most desirable, for purposes of both contrast and comparison. One well-written chapter on Japanese propaganda would have sufficed, but the subject has been entirely by-passed.

Despite these reservations, most university, college, and reference libraries of size will want to stock a copy of this book. Its value lies in the fact that scholars have access here, in usable and compact form, to twenty-seven contemporaneous essays on psychological warfare from widely divergent sources, authoritatively, and for the most part interestingly, written. An eight-page index is a useful feature of the volume.

New York, N.Y.

CEDRIC LARSON

THE NAVY AND THE INDUSTRIAL MOBILIZATION IN WORLD WAR II. By Robert H. Connery. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. xi, 527. \$6.00.)

THIS is a book about the things that happen when an armed force sets out to

spend one hundred billion dollars in six years. In a time when war and the preparation for war seems, in the Teutonic euphemy of Clausewitz, an ordinary part of social relations, it is, as Mr. Arbuthnot would say, a book for the thoughtful citizen to read and ponder.

In these pages one will discover all that one needs to know about the material expansion of the United States Navy in the years from 1940 to 1946. Since the Navy is only one of several fighting arms, and since, in war as in peace, the armed forces are only a part of a whole society that can make legitimate levies upon the industrial economy, it is a complicated story that Mr. Connery has to tell, involving most intricate political, economic, and social interrelationships. This complicated story Mr. Connery tells adroitly. He fits the Navy with skill into the delirious hierarchy that controlled our total industrial mobilization—the Army Navy Munitions Board, the Supply Priorities and Allocation Board, the Office of Production Management, the War Contract Price Adjustment Board, the Office of the Rubber Director, the War Production Board, and all the rest of them.

Having presented the Navy in its proper perspective on the organization chart, Mr. Connery then concentrates upon the development within the Navy of the machinery to plan, organize, and control its great expansion. With infinite patience, he explains how requirements were determined, how contracts were negotiated and renegotiated, how prices were set, programs were cut back, and how the flow of material was delivered and financed.

The presentation of this material, drawn as most of it is from official files of memorandums and correspondence memorable alike for sheer bulk and tumid prose, is a masterpiece of clarity and studied detachment. The detachment is the more surprising because Mr. Connery is for the most part dealing with a series of conflicting claims, desires, and ambitions. Especially is this true when he leaves the broader reaches of industrial mobilization and enters the domain of the Navy itself. Here, though he deals with such matters as inventory control, requirements review, and procurement, his larger theme, as he well knows, is the ancient rivalry between the civilian and the serviceman for control of the administration of the armed forces.

The satisfactory adjustment of this rivalry is, as Charles A. Beard once said, one of the great constitutional problems of this country. Today it may well be our greatest constitutional problem. What Dudley Knox calls "the wilderness of civilian-military relations" is indeed forbidding territory. Here such innocents as Alger and Josephus Daniels have trailed around in hopeless confusion, while officers like D. D. Porter and Douglas MacArthur have boldly entered the region only to find it is a bourne from which even soldiers favored by fortune may not return.

In the last war the naval officers tried quite naturally to occupy as large a part of this wilderness as possible. It was their not unreasonable argument that officers who were responsible to the Secretary for the operation of the fleet

were also under the Secretary responsible for the procurement and distribution of material in support of the fleet. Whatever the theoretical merits of this argument, it turned out that the standard naval procedures and instrumentalities were insufficient to insure the orderly and rapid expansion of the naval establishment after Pearl Harbor. Without any reflection upon the procedures, officers, or instrumentalities, it may be said that the task of spending one hundred billion dollars in goods and services was one that would tax the capacities of the best industrial, legal, and administrative talents that could be found in civilian life. Fortunately such talent was forthcoming, but the civilians that poured into the department after Pearl Harbor to draw contracts, collect and analyze statistics, establish procurement policies, and negotiate purchases, presented a clear threat to naval control over its own society.

A struggle ensued, and it is with this struggle in great part that Mr. Connery concerns himself. Judiciously and with great understanding, he reconstructs this beautiful laboratory experiment in Navy-civilian relationships. Perhaps too judiciously, for the only criticism that could be made of his work is that in his even-handed treatment he reduces some of the passion that went into this conflict. Where such intransigent men as E. J. King and such gifted men as James Forrestal are involved, the sparks are bound to fly upward. This is not to suggest that the struggle was selfishly prolonged or that it remained unresolved. One of the most interesting aspects of Mr. Connery's book is its revelation of how loyal and efficient men, both officers and civilians, learned to work together efficiently to support the fleet. Some of these men he has rescued from comparative obscurity, while others, better known, achieve larger stature. One of these is Admiral S. M. Robinson, who presided with the wisdom and tact of a bishop over the naval Office of Production Management. Another is H. Struve Hensel, who became the general counsel for the Navy. More than any other man perhaps he set up the machinery, against major obstacles, that brought a refreshingly imaginative and well-trained civilian influence to bear within the Navy. His is a contribution that should be studied for the future with the greatest care and incidentally with delight, for his memorandums outlining his position are set forth in striking prose. Only Admiral King in the department wrote more sharply to the point—and he, not as graphically. And in this connection it is regrettable that Admiral King, concerned as he was primarily with operations, could not legitimately claim a larger place in this narrative. Mr. Connery does well by the admiral, but his subject prevents him from dealing with this officer, remarkable alike for his intelligence and resolution, at the length or in the detail one could wish. Two other remarkable men, Ferdinand Eberstadt and James V. Forrestal, because of their direct concern with industrial mobilization are more completely described. As for Forrestal, no better study today exists of the exact contribution as Secretary of the Navy of this honest, able, dedicated, and tragic man.

Withal, this book is a splendid counterbalance to the theory that the Navy's

history is wholly writ in water, and a great addition to our administrative history. Mr. Connery deserves our gratitude. His publishers, the Princeton University Press, should also receive recognition, due and overdue now for a long time, for their work in bringing to public view the record of one of the great institutions of this country. The books by the Sprouts, Bernard Brodie, Duncan Ballantine, James Field, and others, all produced by the Princeton University Press, have been landmarks—and beautifully produced landmarks—in naval bibliography.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

ELTING E. MORISON

BECKONING FRONTIERS: PUBLIC AND PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS. By *Marriner S. Eccles*. Edited by *Sidney Hyman*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1951. Pp. xii, 499, vii. \$5.00.)

Mr. Eccles entered the Federal Reserve officialdom as its head in 1934, retaining that place until April 15, 1948, and remaining a member of the board in Washington until June 21, 1951. He has proved to be the most militant head of that body to date; and in 1951 he was nothing loth to reveal the shifting fortunes of war in his bitter battles to achieve economic stability against the rising inflationary tides of the wartime and postwar boom years. His arguments are clothed in the flesh and blood of eager, perennial controversy.

The background of his argumentation is a family saga typical of nineteenth-century miracles in America. His father, David Eccles, started his earning career at the age of eight in the Glasgow slums; but in 1863, when David was fourteen, his parents accepted for themselves and their seven children the Mormon invitation to emigrate out of slumdom into Utah. There, David learned little more of reading and writing than how to sign his own name, until about his twenty-first year; but the aptness of his learning may be gathered from the fact that when he died at sixty-three he had built a fortune of more than \$7,000,000 by developing opportunities in lumber, sugar factories, coal mines, heavy construction, banking, and utilities. He had wed but twice, and had only twenty-one offspring, twelve of the first marriage and nine by the second wife, whose first child was Marriner Stoddard Eccles.

Marriner had no formal schooling beyond the high-school level but acquired further education the harder way—through the usual two-year tour of duty as a Mormon missionary abroad, and through assumption of heavy business responsibilities at the age of twenty-two. The death of David in 1912 delegated to Marriner the task of preserving and amplifying the two-sevenths of the estate allotted under Utah law to the nine children of David's second union. Marriner proved so successful in estate management that when the depression came he succeeded in preserving his enterprises from the general debacle.

However, the onslaught of the lean years moved this exceptional millionaire to drop his role as a traditional money-making entrepreneur; he developed into

a very liberal-minded capitalist, devoted to saving as much as possible of the system of private enterprise, by adjusting it to the new conditions. The essential economic stability, he decided, could be best encouraged by wise employment of the Federal Reserve System as an instrument for stability.

Such an advocacy, coming from a highly successful operator in banking and other businesses, led to his appointment to the Federal Reserve Board. There he struggled to make the Reserve System a government-sponsored "compensatory" mechanism for smoothing out booms and depressions. The official, central banking organization should be allowed to control the supply and the cost of money; if it could amplify credit in depressions and restrict credit in booms it would give America, and the world, the inestimable boon of a stable United States economy, freed from the worst extremes of deflation and inflation.

Unluckily, while Eccles won some measure of triumph in the use of deficit financing before World War II, he was repeatedly beaten in efforts to arrest inflation after 1945. *Beckoning Frontiers* was done in the white heat of frustration of those efforts. His ideal of an independent Federal Reserve policy, free of dictation from the Treasury, the White House, and the Congress, could not readily be realized when that policy involved putting the brakes on cheap money. If Mr. Eccles had had time to read more of the history of cheap money abroad and at home, he might have been less hopeful that the councils of wisdom would prevail. He was not, he observes, "in any way sensitive to political currents" (p. 431); but in the United States, as practically everywhere over the world, the depression of the 1930's had cut deeply into the political and social structure, erecting very stout political barriers to the control of booms. Eccles in the American field and Keynes in the British and international fields learned this to their cost. Interestingly enough, these two wealthy men, both unselfishly devoted to the solution of the problem of economic instability, had very slight personal contacts.

Fortunately for American historiography, this argumentative volume is so forthright in its attack upon the persons and practices which obstruct a scientific approach to monetary problems that numerous people of prominence probably will be minded to defend themselves or others who (like Glass) have passed on. We are unlikely, however, to get in print many stories of the rare vintage of those describing Eccles' musical interlude on the second floor hall of the White House and Fala's diversionary powers on the rug in the presidential office (pp. 242-45, 327-30). Also, Eccles' bold and specific descriptions—of such political realities as the packing of congressional committees, undercutting by jealous bureaucrats, ousting of fearless officers, and the indispensability of a "pilot's chart of Washington's reefs and shoals" (p. 193)—warn historians to be wary of any simple notions as to how a measure is adulterated and its purposes defeated. Often Eccles refers to the flouting of an executive's will; many an executive officer will read, with wry agreement, the weary lament of F. D. Roosevelt, "Just because I'm President and order a thing to be done doesn't mean it will be done" (pp. 273, 336).

Students of social, religious, and political history will not find this book on credit unrewarding. Eccles frankly explains the economic and educational factors involved in selecting immigrants for conversion to Mormonism and in sending missionaries abroad. He makes clear why government work fascinates successful businessmen despite its personal trials; and he shows a keen understanding of the diverse pressures assailing America's chief executive in the Roosevelt administration.

The former chairman of the board of governors of the Federal Reserve Board amply demonstrates that he has well learned to tell a hawk from a handsaw in the politics of economics. But he seems less conversant with canons of satisfactory historical writing. It is unfortunate that this book, based, he says, on careful examination of twenty-five years of files, boasts but a couple of footnotes, lacks dates and titles useful for identifying some important measures, and sometimes forgets to tell the precise outcome of a hard-fought battle, described blow for blow in some of its episodes. One gets the full savor of conflict over bond issues, taxes and support of the level of interest rates, but sometimes misses the final terms of settlement (pp. 343, 380, 498). Awkwardness of diction occasionally intrudes (pp. 172, 296, 317, 319, 337, 479) and we should like a clearer idea of the part Mr. Eccles assigned to an assistant, Mr. Hyman, in producing the book (p. viii). Finally historians may wish that the naturally straightforward Mr. Eccles had been less coy with some chapter headings; perhaps he does it only to annoy, because he knows it teases.

On the other hand, a special word of thanks is due. This reviewer has argued, with varying success, that Roosevelt's objectives often were basically conservative. Eccles, who himself was sometimes charged with being "a traitor to his class," before 1937 found his chief more conservative than his conservative opponents realized (pp. 98, 117, 142, 166, 311).

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

A HISTORY OF CANADIAN EXTERNAL RELATIONS. By G. P. deT. Glazebrook. [Issued under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1950. Pp. vii, 499. \$4.50.)

THE title of Mr. Glazebrook's valuable study illustrates the manner in which Canadian foreign policy has developed, and the influence upon it of the connection with the United Kingdom. When the Department of External Affairs was established over forty years ago its main task was to act as a medium for correspondence and negotiations with the United Kingdom. Such negotiations were external but not foreign and hence the name adopted for the new department. It was true at that time, as Mr. Glazebrook's book demonstrates, that Canada had interests abroad but not a foreign policy. The latter did not emerge until after 1919 and then evolved slowly and cautiously in the twenties and thirties. One of

the retarding factors, which the author very properly emphasizes, was the failure of the government to develop a group of officials trained in the handling of foreign affairs. As late as 1927, for example, there were still only three permanent officials concerned with policy and these included the undersecretary and the legal adviser. In the same year the first Canadian diplomatic mission was opened, characteristically, in Washington, and the tiny service began to develop. Of that service Mr. Glazebrook became a wartime associate in 1942, with leave of absence from his academic duties at the University of Toronto. He returned to it permanently in 1949, a fact which may help to account for the brevity and restraint with which he discusses the significant developments in Canadian policy since the end of the Second World War.

Almost two thirds of this volume consists of the reprinting, with the correction of minor errors, of the author's earlier study of Canadian external relations to 1914 which was published almost a decade ago. In that monograph considerable attention was necessarily devoted to the domestic history of Canada and to the vexatious questions of boundaries, fisheries, and trade which harassed Canadian-American relations. In the new section commencing with the First World War the author analyzes the developments in a wider field. The change has been remarkable. As the author puts it: "From a purely colonial position in the world Canada has now taken her place as a middle power in international affairs, equipped with a diplomatic service and exhibiting a vigorous policy." On the nature of the operative factors in the interwar period the author is lucid and suggestive in his comments. At times one can regret that his desire for brevity has precluded comment on such episodes as Prime Minister King's visit to Hitler in 1937 or President Roosevelt's declaration on Canada at Queen's University in the year following. The nineteen pages devoted to events since 1939 only sharpen the reader's desire for the fuller treatment which Mr. Glazebrook felt unable to give. Meanwhile we can be grateful for a monograph which should hold its place as the best treatment of the subject for a good many years to come.

University of British Columbia

F. H. SOWARD

ECUADOR: CONSTITUTIONS AND CAUDILLOS. By *George I. Blanksten*.

[University of California Publications in Political Science, Volume III, No. 1.]
(Berkeley: University of California Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 196. Cloth \$3.00, paper \$2.00.)

ABOUT any new book in the social sciences one may well ask what need it meets, what exactly it does, and how well it does it. Professor Blanksten's volume comes off well by all three criteria. As Russell Fitzgibbon points out in his introduction, Latin-American countries have been slow to give us realistic and objective studies of their own political institutions, or of their leaders, for that matter. There can be no doubt that we need books like this one about Ecuador, and little doubt

that, in spite of all the wise warnings against hasty generalizations, it can *faute de mieux* give us most useful leads for the understanding of countries that resemble it in having a large Indian population and in various other respects.

The author has supplemented his four years in the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs with six months recently spent in the country he is describing. His acquaintance with the literature in Spanish and English is wide and discriminating. The result is a book which, while it is no more distinguished in its writing than run-of-the-mill American social science, merits the judgment that it is the best study of Ecuador's constitutional and political problems.

The content of the study deserves somewhat fuller comment. As the title suggests, the center of Mr. Blanksten's interest is the same as that of OSS during the war, political instability, or, in other words, the ineffectiveness of Ecuador's successive constitutions, and her repeated breakdown into *caudillismo* and revolution. This much misunderstood pattern requires for its explanation a look at geographic and historic factors, and an analysis in terms of the historic struggle for power between coast and sierra (for the role of the Oriente and the Galápagos Islands is minimal). Regionalism and rivalry are far more fundamental factors than the admirable constitution of 1946 with its equal rights for Indians, and unplanned *caudillismo* as a rather disorderly way of finding the natural ruler is actually closer to monarchy than to the republican procedures of the professors and the documents. The author knows well enough what the documents say, but the keynote of his analysis is rather "the existing system of power relationships." Politics are personal and regional and they are the prerogative of that minority of the population which can be called "white." Conflicts would occur more frequently if all the parties did not "represent essentially the same small sector of the republic's class system." Really fundamental reforms would go far beyond any of the series of constitutions in changing the pattern of landownership and of the power that rests on it. To accomplish these reforms the retreat of the Indian must be transformed into his fusion in an organized society in which he will have sufficient power to make effective demands.

Men of goodwill can hope that the pattern of *caudillismo* has come to an end with the presidency of Galo Plaza. Our conviction of his enlightenment is based not only on the somewhat ethnocentric belief that anyone educated in the United States must be enlightened but on his public utterances during his recent official visit to our country and several others of the Western Hemisphere. To put into the balance against our optimism are two facts: a cynical awareness of the size of the landholdings of the president's family, with his consequent basic class allegiance, and the historian's knowledge that the fundamental problems of Ecuador remain, and that one man is little with which to challenge them effectively.

University of Pennsylvania

W. REX CRAWFORD

THE POSITION OF AMERICA AND OTHER ESSAYS. By *Alfonso Reyes*.

Selected and translated from the Spanish by *Harriet de Onis*. Foreword by Federico de Onis. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950. Pp. xii, 172. \$5.00.)

THIS is a fine selection from the many essays written in a long lifetime by Mexico's leading man of letters, who has served his country in many capacities, especially in its diplomatic service, but principally by proving beyond question that a Mexican intellectual may hold his own with the best writers produced in any other country.

A man of catholic tastes in literature and of equally universal gifts as a writer, Don Alfonso is above everything else a poet, and the true gift of the poet as seer is never missing from anything he has written, not even when his subjects might appear somewhat commonplace in nature. And Don Alfonso is one of the most striking examples in modern times of the profound, wide-ranging scholar whose learning has been used ever to enrich his creative gifts, not to ride them down.

A small man of gentle countenance and a sweetness of spirit that can belong only to those who love the human race, Don Alfonso is most at home in the peaceful and wonderfully rich library of his home in Mexico City, one of the finest private collections of books existing in the Western Hemisphere.

One has come to expect translations of the first quality from Harriet de Onis, and the present work is in this respect no exception. The introduction by her husband, Federico de Onis, pays just tribute to a great citizen of the New World, and comes fittingly from a distinguished citizen of the Spain which Don Alfonso knows, understands, and loves as few of that country's grandchildren have known, understood, and loved her.

In a brief review, it is not possible to suggest the range of topics covered in the selection of essays, but the core of Don Alfonso's philosophy is a belief that here in America we have the opportunity of creating a magnificent synthesis of cultures, adding to its European and classical elements our own important contributions. It is an inspiring thesis, inspiringly presented.

The book itself is as handsomely and tastefully made as the consistently high quality of Don Alfonso's writing deserves. It is a volume for which one can only wish the widest reading among the thoughtful citizens of the brave new world of Don Alfonso's dreams.

Ridgefield, Connecticut

HERSCHEL BRICKELL

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

GESCHICHTSWISSENSCHAFT. By *Fritz Wagner*, Professor an der Universität Marburg/Lahn. [*Orbis Academicus: Problemgeschichten der Wissenschaft in Dokumenten und Darstellungen.*] (Freiburg im Breisgau, Karl Alber, 1951, pp. viii, 468.) The projected German series in sixty volumes, "*Orbis Academicus*," has for its theme the quest for the methodology of science. This theme has been applied with marked success to a new publication in this series: an original study of historiography from ancient times to the end of the First World War. In format and style the work is not unlike European university students' handbooks, in which facts predominate and the authors' viewpoint and style are suppressed. Only the chapters devoted to the problem of historicism manifest the author's latent interest in a subject in which any reflective German historian is likely to become entangled. Since the substance of the book consists of quotations from the great historians, the author's material is confined to short sections seeking to establish the intellectual leitmotif of the several historical periods. It is the chief virtue of the book that in terse, and naturally lapidary style, the quotations which form the body of the book, when considered in the light of the introductory material, afford a view of the development of historical concepts, and of the meaning, objectives, and content of history. Each quotation is fully documented. By keeping comment and quotations in a certain degree of harmony the author has maintained a literary unity while providing students of historiography with a virtual encyclopedia of comments about historical method. Since the development of history has been treated as an aspect of the western European world view, a generous amount of space has been allotted to philosophical and literary figures. Except that German names predominate after the time of Herder, this approach is perfectly valid. The choice of historians, apart from those of antiquity, is less satisfactory. Medieval historians, including St. Augustine, are handled in a scant eighteen pages. After 1800, to judge from the text, the nurture and care of Clio was entrusted exclusively to the Germans. Except for Taine no nineteenth-century French historian is quoted. The Whig school has been overlooked completely; and if Hume may be considered to have been a Scotsman, Buckle remains the only English historian quoted by the author. If these omissions mar the over-all value of the work, the concentration upon the German historians provides an ample background for the analysis of historicism and the philosophical problems of history. Here the quotations boldly outline the significance of Dilthey, Troeltsch, and Max Weber. Considering the author's effort to associate history with the intellectual climate, the choice of "American historians" may not seem so strange. Three are quoted; the selection of John Bach McMaster needs no justification, and Theodore Parker certainly reflects the critical and intellectual ferment of mid-century America. But in quoting a speech made by George Perkins Marsh at Union College in 1847 the author has been led off the main thoroughfare into a byway. Another American, James Harvey Robinson, is extravagantly praised in the introduction to the section on the morphology of culture, although the quotations there are entirely from Lamprecht and Hintze. An excellent and comprehensive bibliography, organized topically, and a useful compendium of the life data of the major historians, conclude a work which will surely provide the teacher and student of historiography with much valuable source material. A similar

study for use in American colleges must necessarily be different in choice of historians and in emphasis.

THOMAS T. McAVOY, C.S.C., *University of Notre Dame*

INITIATION A LA CRITIQUE HISTORIQUE. By *Léon-E. Halkin*, Professeur à l'Université de Liège, Membre de la Commission Royale d'Histoire. Préface de Lucien Febvre. [Cahiers des Annales, No. 6.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1951, pp. 174, 400 fr.) M. Halkin, in a disarming foreword to this brief volume, tells what the book is as well as what it is not, and with French lucidity explains that his work is only a manual for beginners, with a few examples added thereto as application of the ideas and principles. The five papers which make up the latter half of the book, excellent as they are, must be disregarded in favor of the six first papers which in seventy pages include the core of the work. Three of these in turn, the first on "History and Criticism," the third and fourth on "The Divisions of History" and on "Two Auxiliary Sciences: Philology and Geography" appeal less to thought than do the others. Even so, they discuss the need for the historian to be "a prophet after the event" with a critical approach to all facts. The elastic character of subdivisions is emphasized, as well as the limits of integration of disciplines. In "History of History" M. Halkin points out that the historian cannot live on theory, nor replace poverty of fact by brilliance of concept. In the fifth paper, "A Historical Margin: Biography," he lays down, with sure touch, what biography can and cannot do. He brings the document and the act into position as the foundations of any "Life." He admits that "biography will always suggest and apprehend more than it says," yet he circumscribes properly the place of the psychologist striving today to explain the behavior of man alive in the past, since "reality must be inseparable from the historian." In a discussion of "Paul Valéry and the Historical Process," the author deals with the theory that "history cannot be separated from the historian." To him, "the document must be a witness before the court, not a criminal at the bar." Here, his feeling that "history serves a reflective curiosity," appealing to two of man's strongest emotions, the feeling for remembrance and the sense of continuity, is nobly expressed. Human prejudices, predilections, and emotions make it difficult for the historian to judge calmly; yet granting that, he holds that history cannot and should not be detached from man since it remains the story of human effort and achievement.

FRANCIS J. BOWMAN, *University of Southern California*

THE TRAVAIL OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY: NINE BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES. By *Roland H. Bainton*. (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1951, pp. 272, \$4.00.) "The best things on religious liberty," says Bainton, "were said in the sixteenth century," and while liberty was far from wholly secure thereafter, the crucial battles had been fought by the close of the seventeenth century. In this volume, Bainton traces the course of the controversy in a series of nine biographical studies which fall into three groups. The first three—Torquemada, Calvin, and Servetus (two persecutors and one persecuted)—illustrate the theory of persecution. The second three—Castellio, Joris, and Ochino—illustrate the struggle for liberty on the Continent in the sixteenth century. The final three epitomize the struggle in England and the colonies during the seventeenth century—John Milton and Roger Williams for the Puritan Revolution and John Locke as the apologist for the Glorious Revolution and the precursor of the age of the Enlightenment. The study is restricted to the religious arguments for liberty, but the author suggests that this leaves ample room for another manner of treatment which would deal with the secular motives for liberty derived from political and economic considerations. The analysis of the theory of persecution and of the theories of liberty, as exemplified in the thought of the various men, is both

incisive and illuminating. The only defect in the book is a curious unwillingness to acknowledge any contribution of Calvinism to the achievement of religious freedom. Calvin is pictured solely as illustrating "the peak of Protestant intolerance," and it is explicitly affirmed that the only contribution of Calvinists was their intransigence which made it necessary to grant them, as a minority, a degree of toleration. Yet it can scarcely be a mere coincidence that liberty was earliest and most fully achieved in lands most deeply influenced by Calvinist thought. The presuppositions of Calvin actually could be and were, under the pressure of circumstance, brought into the service of a theory of liberty. An admission of the corruption of reason could force an admission of the rights of error. The importance of the witness of the Spirit could lead to a doctrine of progressive and continuing revelation. The doctrine of predestination could undercut an insistence upon the effectiveness of persecution. And the logic of the Calvinist conception of the church, as Bainton admits, pointed to the conventicle, and the notion of the church as a conventicle always has served to undergird a theory of liberty.

WINTHROP S. HUDSON, *Colgate-Rochester Divinity School*

AN INTRODUCTION TO WORLD POLITICS. By *W. Friedman*. (New York, Macmillan, 1951, pp. xii, 313, \$2.25.) This book by a member of the faculty of the University of Melbourne is an attempt to describe current conditions in the world, omitting "South America, and for the most part Africa," with comment on the rivalries and tensions revealed in the narrative. Unfortunately for the author, it was in type when the Korean war began; he added a fourth appendix to indicate some of the difficulties thereby caused—this in September, 1950. Three months later, before the printing of the final form, he was "certain that the United States and her allies will not appease as in 1938" (p. 300). He hoped that "they will find the equally great moral courage not to be guided by prestige or 'face,' but by a sober realization of the limits of their resources and the significance of the Asian revolution." Perhaps the chief interest of this little volume for students of history is one the author did not intend. It is evidence of the thoughts on conditions in the world in the early months of 1950 of an intelligent resident of Melbourne, Australia, who had all too little reliable information. Watching afar off the national giants, Russia and the United States, he had difficulties in seeing through his own fears the impulses moving in either country. The best hope of the future seemed to lie in some sort of world government, of which he did not see much prospect. The moves of the Western powers in the Far East seemed to him to be "weak and uncertain." A "democratic citizen" had little to hope for: "Behind all the tension and fury there has always been a measure of common values between modern Russia and modern America. . . . It is the culture of classical, Christian and western Europe, of Britain, France or Scandinavia, with all the mixture of modern progress with the experience of history, the diversity of cultures and the scepticism about the boundlessness of human achievements, which contrast more strongly with the attitude of mind of both America and Soviet Russia" (p. 238). On the basis of Orwell's novel, he goes on to conclude: "It is regrettable . . . that not only totalitarian socialism but big-scale capitalism may lead to very similar systems of control" (p. 239).

W. T. LAPRADE, *Duke University*

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY. [Issued by the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools.] (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1950, pp. xv, 222, \$2.50.) This report on the teaching of history is one of a series that covers the various fields. The several pages devoted to outlines of content, the sug-

gestions on advanced work, and the reading lists may have value for particular teachers in England. For Americans this report would have been acceptable in 1875, thinkable in 1900, anachronistic in 1925, and incredible in 1950. Only a few of its characteristics need be cited. The eloquent recital of the revolutionary changes since 1925 becomes grotesque in view of the unbending, unyielding, and unchanging ways of teaching that are described and recommended. Among the three possible centers of emphasis—content, teacher, and pupil—the committee unhesitatingly chooses the first and second. Four chapters are purportedly devoted to methods, but therein much space is given to equipment, examinations, and learning aids. Without revealing any doubts, the committee assumes the reliability of discussion examinations. Such faith in essays written under duress would have seemed at least defensible in 1925; in 1950 it is simply a serious pedagogical lag. Chapter x, devoted to the social studies, is not only inadequate and erroneous but ludicrous. How shall we interpret the fact that a committee, writing in 1950, feels the need for three condemnations of the practice of dictating notes? Most of the devices and aids are devoted to the teaching of such outmoded and inconsequential matters as capturing a medieval castle. What kind of psychology of learning prevails among teachers who recommend (p. 84) that a lazy or backward boy bear the brunt of questioning? "Schoolboys can not do historical research" (p. 101). The report confuses knowledge and information, uses such phrases as "to tackle," "dip" into a book, and "long spasms" of writing, and contains a few sentences that need translation. American teachers of all grades are assured that they are missing nothing of pedagogical value by ignoring this publication.

EDGAR B. WESLEY, *Los Altos, California*

A CONCISE HISTORY OF ASTRONOMY. By *Peter Doig*, Editor, Journal of the British Astronomical Association. With a Foreword by Sir Harold Spencer Jones, Astronomer Royal. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1951, pp. xi, 320, \$4.75.) It is unfortunate that scientists to whom historical scholarship is largely terra incognita continue to feel impelled to write, strictly off their own bats, on the history of science. Mr. Doig's book is a case in point. Not that the volume is without value for the student of history, as well as for the general reader to whom it is directed. The last hundred pages (chaps. xiv-xvii) offer a convenient, concise account of the epoch-making advances in astronomy during the first half of the twentieth century. The even briefer discussion of the nineteenth century (chaps. xi-xiii) has a corresponding usefulness. It is in the hundred and thirty pages devoted to the history of astronomy before 1830 that the limitations of the book are most apparent. In dealing with this period, historical training and critical scholarship assume much greater importance. Accordingly, Mr. Doig is here a far less knowledgeable and sure-footed guide. His early chapters reveal serious defects of organization, as, indeed, does the book considered as a whole; there are defects also of balance, emphasis, and historical interpretation. While he has made some use of recent contributions by scholars like Otto Neugebauer, his documentation lacks scope as well as solidarity. For these reasons, as well as the extreme brevity of Mr. Doig's discussion (eight pages for a chapter entitled "Mohammedans. Tartars. Medieval Europe."), students interested in a reasonably adequate one-volume account of the history of astronomy to 1800 or 1850 will still have to go—somewhat cautiously—to such earlier English works as those of Arthur Berry (1898) or W. W. Bryant (1907). Or, if they read German, to Rudolf Wolf's as yet unequalled *Geschichte der Astronomie* (1877). The need for a sound, well-balanced, critical, up-to-date general history of astronomy in English (or for that matter, in any language) is very apparent. It was in Mr. Doig's mind when he wrote his book (preface, p. vii). The vital question, however, is whether an astronomer—

or a historian—working alone and in intellectual isolation, can possibly expect to produce such a work. If Mr. Doig's attempt is a fair criterion, the answer is No.

J. W. OLMSTED, *University of California, Los Angeles*

RETURN FROM THE POLE. By *Frederick A. Cook*. Edited, with an Introduction, by *Frederick J. Pohl*. (New York, Pellegrini and Cudahy, 1951, pp. x, 335, \$4.50.) On September 1, 1909, cables carried the story that Dr. Frederick A. Cook had reached the North Pole in April, 1908. Excitement reached fever heat when, within a week, Robert E. Peary telegraphed from northern Labrador that he had reached the Pole and that Cook had not. For ten years the controversy echoed through the halls of Congress and across the country. This posthumous volume is offered as Cook's final statement. "Now published for the first time, it offers important new evidence in the Polar dispute that is still alive after 42 years." So says the dust jacket. In fact, large sections of this book are lifted from Cook's *My Attainment of the Pole*, published in 1911. Much of the rest is an old man's rambling philosophy. The body of the text offers nothing of new proof. The introduction offers Pohl's reasons for believing Cook. Several of the arguments are suggestive, but they do not begin to answer the many objections that have been raised against Cook's claims. Pohl has been given access to Cook's diaries and notebooks: critical analysis of them should have furnished new evidence, but none has been presented. Five years ago there was a reasonable chance that Cook's "Bradley Land" might be discovered from the air; now the chance seems slight, in view of the aerial activity in the area. This book can be considered neither new nor history.

JOHN E. CASWELL, *Redwood City, California*

WEST AFRICA. By *F. J. Pedler*. (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1951, pp. vii, 208, \$2.25.) This excellent summary of West African life is packed with information and contains many passages which clarify the area's most complicated problems. The author's experience in both government and business enables him to write with extraordinary insight, as is readily apparent in the chapter on economic conditions. Mr. Pedler introduces his subject by presenting the conventional geographical background in the novel and readable form of a travelogue which illustrates effectively the geographical diversity of West Africa. Brief chapters on the people and the history of the area follow, leaving the major portion of the book for two chapters on economics and politics. French West Africa and the independent Republic of Liberia are included in Mr. Pedler's survey, but he is at his best when he writes of the British territories with which he is most familiar. Some of his generalizations, however, would not stand up under close scrutiny. For example, he writes that "there is not a scrap of evidence" to support the view that "the colonial powers have held back the development of manufacture for the benefit of industrialists in Europe" (p. 86). And it is certainly an oversimplification to attribute the recent efforts of the United States to aid Liberia to the fact that Roosevelt "saw the possibility of winning negro votes" (p. 132). On the whole, however, the author is commendably dispassionate in his treatment of the many controversial problems which confront West Africa as it emerges toward self-government.

VERNON MCKAY, *Washington, D.C.*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

THE PREHISTORIC INHABITATION OF CORINTH. Volume I. By Leslie Walker Kosmopoulos. (Munich, Münchner Verlag, 1948, pp. xxii, 73, plates.) This is the first of three volumes which are to set forth the results of a comparative study of the archaeological material from three sites: Corinth, the key site, centrally located and the earliest inhabited, Halai in Lokris on the northeast coast of central Hellas, and the Choirospeilaion on the Island of Leukas, near the westernmost limit of Hellenic waters. All three sites, situated on the early Mediterranean highways, exhibit a fundamentally similar culture. Volume II will contain the analytical presentation of the Corinthian material, and the third volume will include the evidence from Halai and Leukas and also an interpretation and correlation of the findings from all three sites. The present work is a tribute to the scholarship of Dr. (Mrs.) Kosmopoulos and also to her indomitable spirit which carried her through difficult conditions and some unnecessarily imposed obstacles. Her generosity is indicated by the number of pages devoted to acknowledgments, not to mention the fact that the author carried out the excavations at her own expense. Five periods are differentiated: Corinthian I, II, and III (of Neolithic culture [before ca. 3000 B.C.]), Corinthian IV, a transitional period (Chalcolithic, possibly ca. 3000-2800 B.C.), and Corinthian V, the Early Helladic (Bronze Age) Period, which ended ca. 2000 B.C. Chapter I, "Introduction," is devoted to a chronological survey in which the characteristic pottery of each period is treated, and to "The Excavations," wherein the excavations by Heermance, Washburn, Elderkin, Hill, and others, carried on from 1896 to 1935, are presented. The various

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

wares are described and illustrated, and affinities with the pottery of Thessaly and other regions are discussed and interacting influences noted. Nowhere in the five periods is there an actual break in the technical tradition, states the author. Chapter II, "Synopsis of the Prehistoric Material," deals with the building structures, pottery, and various objects, arranged chronologically, period by period. In chapter III, "Recapitulation," these finds at Corinth are treated topically, under the headings: built structures, bone objects, (terracotta) figurines, metal (copper dagger in II; rarity of metal in IV and V fortuitous), organic remains (bones of cattle and deer, shells of edible molluscs), pottery (13 pages), stone (arrowheads, celts, chisels, hammers, knives, mortars and pestles, palettes, rubbers or grinders, sling-stones), (spindle) whorls (of clay). An index will doubtless appear in Volume III; so this work is concluded by the excellent color plates. Archaeologists and historians will welcome this important work on Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and Early (Helladic) Bronze Age Corinth, and eagerly look forward to the appearance of Volumes II and III.

J. PENROSE HARLAND, *University of North Carolina*

THE LOST PHARAOHS: THE ROMANCE OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY. By *Leonard Cottrell*. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1951, pp. 256, \$6.00.) Laymen both young and old who have a real curiosity about ancient Egyptian civilization will find a large amount of very pertinent and up-to-date information in Mr. Leonard Cottrell's well-conceived popular book. Mesopotamian archaeologists may question whether "the earliest civilization on earth" grew up beside the Nile (p. 19). But all professional students of the ancient Near East would agree with him that countless objects "would be more valuable to science if the exact place and circumstances of their discovery were known" (p. 50). There are excellent sections explaining in detail how both ancient and modern tomb-robbers have operated. Readers who have already visited Egypt will enjoy the good-natured diatribe against dragomen. Art historians may not accept the author's half-apology for the ancient Egyptians' lack of perspective; he seems to miss some of the point as to what makes Egyptian art Egyptian. The discovery of the Tomb of Tutankhamon receives special attention. Mr. Cottrell glosses over the unfairness of the London *Times's* world-wide copyright which Lord Carnarvon granted, instead of letting two or three of the international news services disseminate news of the famous discovery. The Tutankhamon "curse" theory is bluntly and effectively debunked. Sir Alan Gardiner's evaluation of the relatively minor scientific importance of the great discovery is quoted. The author pleads for early scientific publication of the find, and suggests that UNESCO do it. This reviewer has heard reports that Sir Alan Gardiner is undertaking the large task of preparing the text for such a publication. Readers will find much of interest in the sections on the heretic king Ikhnaton and his new capital at Tell el Amarna. An appendix contains quotations of conflicting opinions of leading Egyptologists about this ruler. Like all the humanities, Egyptology is in crisis. The author asks for scientific excavation on important ancient sites in the Nile Delta *soon* before the rising ground water level prohibits such work almost altogether. He urges Egyptologists to devote more of their time to writing readable popular books and articles on ancient Egyptian culture and art. With very few employment possibilities and still fewer opportunities to excavate, the young generation of Egyptologists and those students who are still being trained for the profession face a lean future. If peace and reasonable stability return to the world, the investigation of ancient Egypt can perhaps be resumed on a more active basis. Meanwhile this book can safely be given to the large body of uninitiated who want to know what Egyptology is about.

JAMES H. BREASTED, JR., *Pasadena, California*

THE MAGISTRATES OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC. Volume I, 509 B.C.-100 B.C. By T. Robert S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College. With the Collaboration of Marcia L. Patterson, Kent Place School. [Philological Monographs, Number XV, Volume I.] (New York, American Philological Association; distrib. by Lancaster Press, Lancaster, Pa., and B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, England, 1951, pp. xix, 578.) This is a work of heroic proportions which, when completed with its second volume, will rank among the most ambitious and the most useful scholarly efforts in the field of Roman history of the last years. It is idle to insist on the value of a collection of the *fasti* of the Roman Republic through its nearly five hundred years. The present volume covers the period between 509 and 100 B.C., listing for each year the known magistrates, promagistrates, *legati*, members of the priestly colleges, and special commissioners, with the evidence for their activity, and a brief statement of their accomplishments. The second volume will carry the lists down to the year of Actium, with tables furnishing the names and careers of the persons named in them. The whole will be an invaluable handbook and guide to the source materials and bibliography of this period of history. It might even be said that this is a history of the Republic, on an annalistic plan, since it is very largely true that the history of the Republic is the history of its magistrates. The genius of the Roman constitution practically barred anyone not in office from doing anything important. Very sensibly, the author has refrained from making this an occasion to develop new theories of Roman history. The temptation was certainly great, and the fashion of the day leads one into all kinds of interesting hypotheses. Nothing in history presents more puzzles and more paradoxes, is at once so baffling and so maddeningly provocative, as the early Republic. But the tempting paths of Hanell and Altheim are sedulously avoided. The author's aim is not, as he states, "to vindicate or to criticize the chronology of our records or the reliability of the names contained in them, but to make available the lists of magistrates as fully" as possible. In this he has been eminently successful, and we can only be grateful. He has also done more. His sober and sensible judgment is evident in every problem which he touches. This is a book not only to be used, but also read.

C. BRADFORD WELLES, *Yale University*

THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By M. P. Charlesworth, Late Fellow and President of St. John's College, Cambridge. [Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, Number 219.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1951, pp. vi, 215, \$2.00.) Any volume which makes vivid a portion of the past, which confers new life, with the written word, upon the actions of men long since dead, is a contribution. Mr. Charlesworth has made many contributions of this character, and in this little book he continues this service. A prologue gives in compact form the story of republican Rome. An introductory chapter on the powers, duties, and accomplishments of emperor and provincial governor establishes a precedent for the remaining chapters by deserting a strict chronological treatment of the two centuries of peace. A sense of development and change, however, permeates the book. The lives of soldier, sailor, artisan, trader, and man of leisure pass in review, with emphasis on the contentment which prosperity and justice brought to them. Separately treated are the valiant efforts of Diocletian and Constantine to restore the "good old days." A work of interpretation normally offends the reader who does not find his hobby fully treated. This reader has looked in vain for a topic which Mr. Charlesworth has not graced with at least one sentence. It seems, however, scarcely adequate to dismiss a long development with the statement, "By this time (301 A.D.) there had grown up a general belief in the power of the state to control everything . . ." (p. 111) And surely the author nodded when he had the Visigoths raiding Spain before 285 A.D.

(p. 51). The one expanded subject is Christianity, an account written in terms of understanding and sympathy. One may question the thoroughness of Constantine's conversion as it is presented. But even here, criticism is disarmed by the final sentence. "Belief in the *res Romana* and passion for its eternal endurance, this was the real religion of these emperors; nothing else mattered in the long run" (p. 193).

J. J. VAN NOSTRAND, *University of California, Berkeley*

THE TREATMENT OF THE JEWS IN THE GREEK CHRISTIAN WRITERS OF THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES. By *Robert Wilde*, a Priest of the Archdiocese of New York. [The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Volume LXXXI.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1949, pp. xviii, 239.) A large number of Christian authors of the first three centuries is treated in this dissertation, from Clement of Rome and Ignatius of Antioch to the Sibylline Oracles and the Ascension of Isaias. Individual chapters are devoted to Justin and his school, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen and his successors. An additional chapter deals with "evidence" of Jewish participation in the persecution of Christians, but the evidence produced is exclusively that of Christian writers! The whole dissertation is prefaced by a cursory summary of Jewish history, especially in the Hellenistic world, and by an enumeration of references to Jews and Judaism among pagan Greek authors. This reviewer feels that Father Wilde did not employ the best sources available for these lengthy introductions (one third of the book); though his elaborate bibliography lists sources and works by Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic scholars, the text appears to rely rather uncritically upon largely Catholic research or such safe, but outdated studies as those of Kaufmann Kohler or M. Friedlander (1892). In addition to that the author seems to be unfamiliar with post-Biblical rabbinic literature which is indispensable for an objective evaluation of this period. So, when Wilde states on page 120 that the rabbis forbade their people to engage in religious discussion with Christians and draws some significant conclusions from such an attitude, he does not attempt to examine the veracity of his source. As it happens, Jewish sources of the time under discussion do not contain such an injunction. This reviewer is not quite certain what Father Wilde implies when he uses expressions such as "Christians, who were *unsoundly* literal in their scriptural exegesis" (p. 168) or "Origen presents more clearly than any *uninspired* writer" (p. 209, italics mine). Such terminology may mean different things to different readers, and, perhaps, should not be employed for just that reason. As a whole, the dissertation has its value as an encyclopedic collection of data, though not critical and comprehensive enough to do justice to this phase of the intellectual history of Jew and Christian.

FRANK ROSENTHAL, *Drake University*

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm¹

PELAGIUS AND THE FIFTH CRUSADE. By Joseph P. Donovan, Seattle University. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950, pp. 124, \$2.50.) In this short but erudite work Mr. Donovan traces the career of Pelagius, cardinal of Albano, with special reference to the Fifth Crusade, to which three of his five chapters are devoted. This proportion is perhaps to be regretted; for Pelagius' importance in history lies less in his leadership of the unfortunate expedition against Damietta in 1218-21 than in his attempt to settle the relationship of the eastern churches, both in Constantinople and in Cyprus, with the papacy. On this question Mr. Donovan shows good sense and understanding; but he has not been able to go deeply enough into its past, in particular the history of the churches in Antioch, which was the background of the Cypriot problem. Mr. Donovan's story of the crusade itself is full and careful. He seems to know the Arabic sources mainly from the not always reliable translations in the great French *recueil*, but he has probably missed no source of importance. A critical account of the sources that he has used would have been useful, as at times he is prepared to accept statements that need more justification than his overlaid footnotes can supply. He is concerned to clear his hero of the responsibility of the failure of the crusade, with which French historians, anxious to whitewash their compatriots, have saddled him. He does not entirely succeed, but he shows that there are several sides to the question. He takes a large view. He fully understands the importance of the Mongols; and his estimate of Frederick II is a useful corrective to the portrait of a romantic victim to ecclesiastical obscurantism drawn by most historians. In one or two details he is open to criticism. He is a little too credulous about the size of armies. John of Brienne was more than just "regent" for his daughter; the problem of kingship in Jerusalem when the crown passed through a woman cannot be dismissed so simply. But his book is a very useful contribution to crusading history. It is, however, astonishing that a distinguished university press should publish such a book without an index.

STEVEN RUNCIMAN, *London, England*

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

LUXEMBURG IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By *John Allyn Gade*. (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1951, pp. xii, 238.) Luxemburg is fortunate in getting its medieval history from the pen of Captain John A. Gade. The attractive book, produced in the Netherlands and dedicated to the present ruler of the country, Grand Duchess Charlotte, deals first with political developments and military campaigns from which Luxemburg emerged as a distinct unit. After a short review of the early Middle Ages during which the country was occupied and controlled by Gauls, Romans, Germanic tribes, Merovingians, and Carolingians, the author proceeds to conditions in the empire which favored emancipation of local princes especially along the imperial boundary. From the genealogical tables which the author appended to the text, we learn of many family ties which both the first House of Luxemburg and the dynasty Namur-Luxemburg established with rulers either in the vicinity or in the more distant regions. Some of these relatives professed liking for the French way of life while others adopted the German language, manners, and customs. The rulers of Luxemburg and their subjects, while preserving many characteristic marks, gravitated, in the late Middle Ages, toward France and its capital. The story of medieval Luxemburg could not be adequately presented if the author had given attention to dynastic policies only. Several monasteries existed there before political and administrative unification of the comparatively small territory. They promoted both economic prosperity and intellectual activities, as Captain Gade aptly shows in the fifth chapter of his illuminating outline. Under the Namur-Luxemburg dynasty the position of Luxemburg was consolidated and its importance enhanced by a series of clever moves on the political chess board. With Henry VII (1277-1313) opened the glorious chapter. Not only was he successful in obtaining the imperial crown but he secured, with the help of his younger brother, Baldwin, archbishop of Treves, the royal throne of Bohemia for his first-born son, John. Thus were established close links between two distant countries, one on the western, the other on the eastern fringes of the empire, and foundations were laid for the ascent of the Luxemburg power to unprecedented heights. About 1375 the Luxemburg dynasty was the most powerful ruling house in Europe. Captain Gade writes with ease and fluency and evidently found much pleasure in portraying such rulers as Countess Ermesinde, John the Blind, and the emperor-king Charles IV. Several illustrations supplement his informative and colorful story and add to the charm of this handsome volume.

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Modern European History

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

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A GUIDE TO THE RECORDS IN THE CORPORATION OF LONDON
 RECORDS OFFICE AND THE GUILDHALL LIBRARY MUNIMENT ROOM.
 Compiled by Philip E. Jones, Deputy Keeper of the Corporation Records, and

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Raymond Smith, Librarian to the Corporation. (London, English Universities Press, 1951, pp. vii, 203, 20s.) The compact size of this valuable handbook may surprise anyone familiar with the vast treasure of municipal records belonging to the Corporation of London. An introduction by the present deputy keeper of records informs us, however, that the book is not intended to be a "catalogue but only a guide to sources." The first half undertakes to list the City's official records now in the post-war Corporation Records Office in Moorgate. It classifies the bulkiest store of the rich and often unbroken series of town archives under the headings of administrative, judicial, and financial. These records range all the way from the well-known Letter Books beginning in the thirteenth century which were edited in part by Dr. Reginald R. Sharpe (London, 1899-1912) to the latest minute books of the Civil Defense Committee. For the first time students may find set out in systematic fashion the scores of kinds of rolls, repertories, deeds, and other documents whose survival is testimony of London's respect for its illustrious past. In the second part of the volume the manuscripts belonging to the Guildhall Library Muniment Room are grouped under highly suggestive headings. They should direct economic historians and others with interests beyond the Corporation itself to a variety of London parochial records, parliamentary records, records of city companies, and of businesses and trading companies, to name a few, which either have been recently acquired (as the business archives of Sir William Turner, 1615-92) or too little known and used. It will be noticed that one result of the unhappy destruction of churches and halls of livery companies during the recent war has been to bring to the Library parish, ward, and company records formerly widely dispersed. The American historian will also find a few gleanings, such as a letter from the Congress at Philadelphia to the Corporation in 1775 (p. 25), not included in Andrews and Davenport, *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783 in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives . . .* (Washington, D.C., 1908). Two faults of form slightly diminish the volume's usefulness. Could not both parts have followed the method of the second in listing in the footnotes rather than in the text the instances where the manuscripts have been printed in whole or in part? The index would be more helpful if it included in its alphabetical listing such names as Turner or John Wilkes instead of concealing these gentlemen under the heading of "Lord Mayor." The descriptions of the kind of material contained in a given record are uneven in value to the scholar at a distance, for while relatively full in some cases (p. 162), they are so scanty in others as to make it necessary to examine such a relatively inaccessible source as the *Annual Reports* of the Library Committee (for example, cf. that of 1934, p. 3, with p. 68 of the *Guide*). These shortcomings are minor when set against the merits of completing the enormous task of listing the chronological series of every record held by the Corporation, and of achieving a classification which manages to clarify the City's structure of government. The authors and their staffs are to be warmly thanked for their accomplishment.

RUTH A. MCINTYRE, *Washington, D.C.*

CRANMER AND THE ENGLISH REFORMATION. By *F. E. Hutchinson*, Formerly Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford and Canon of Worcester. [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York, Macmillan, 1951, pp. vii, 188, \$2.00.) This volume must be assessed in terms of the general purpose of the "Teach Yourself History" series. "The key-idea," says the editor A. L. Rowse, "is the intention by way of the biography of a great man to open up a significant historical theme." Mr. Rowse would thereby "bring the university into the homes of the people" (pp. vi-viii). Mr. Hutchinson's volume is not a work of original scholarship nor of specially fresh

insights, but it is a very readable account of the English Reformation, centering in Cranmer, from which the general reader and the student in the classroom can learn a good deal. It is perhaps less of a biography than the statement of general purpose would lead one to expect. But it provides a balanced and objective account of the main events from Henry VIII's "divorce" down through the reign of Elizabeth. The author attempts neither to whitewash nor to tar-and-feather Cranmer, but to explain, in the light of the archbishop's personality and the times, both his "timidity" and courage. He rightly estimates that Cranmer's greatest service to the Reformation was as a scholar—referring to his work on the English Bible and the Prayer Book.

FRANKLIN L. BAUMER, *Yale University*

ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND: CERTAIN OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING THE LIFE AND REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH. By *John Clapham*. Edited by *Evelyn Plummer Read* and *Conyers Read*. [University of Pennsylvania, Department of History, Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History.] (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951, pp. viii, 125, \$2.50.) In the spring of 1603 a scholarly Yorkshireman named John Clapham was moved, as he put it, to "set down abruptly certain short observations . . . concerning the life of Elizabeth, our late Queen." By this time Clapham had several publications to his credit: he had Englished a bit of Plutarch, turned out a Latin poem, and essayed a history of England as a Roman province. But, though Sir Henry Ellis included excerpts from the "Observations" in his *Original Letters* (1827), nearly three and a half centuries were to pass before the complete text was published. For this delay Clapham's prudence was in part responsible: "To set down truly the occurrences of the present or late times is found by experience to be a labor without thanks and now and then not without danger." It is probable that we now have a franker, as well as a more spontaneous, account as a result, though the tone of the work is generally moderate. Clapham devotes about a quarter of his text to sketching in the background, beginning with Henry VII. The rest is given over to Elizabeth's reign and the accession of James. His treatment of the queen's last months is detailed, roughly a quarter of the work being devoted to her death. Since he had been for many years attached to the household of Lord Burghley, who had provided for his education, it is not strange that he should dwell favorably and at length—though not with invariable accuracy—on the character and accomplishments of his patron. More remarkable is the scanty treatment which Clapham gives to religious issues; though unsympathetic to Catholics and Puritans, he dismisses the Elizabethan settlement in a single sentence. The student of English historiography will find this work of considerable interest. Clapham was "one of the earliest of English writers to insist upon the importance of presenting English history in readable, literary form," and his "Observations" are couched in a straightforward, robust, and fluent prose. The influence of the classics is writ large in his preoccupation with the deaths of Elizabeth and Burghley, and in his characterizations of other notable figures of the era. There is an air of restraint throughout the work, and save for a few subjects—Puritans and lawyers are examples—a remarkable measure of objectivity. Informative introductory sections enhance the value of the edition, which is in all respects an attractive little book.

WILLIAM L. SACHSE, *University of Wisconsin*

THE RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS OF LEVELLER DEMOCRACY. By *D. B. Robertson*. (New York, King's Crown Press, 1951, pp. x, 175, \$2.75.) Although there have been many works devoted of late to the Levellers, the present unpretentious monograph is welcome. Even if most of its points have been touched upon by earlier

writers, a systematic study of them fills a gap in the historiography of the Puritan Revolution. The author's main thesis can be briefly summarized as follows: The Levellers' ideals cannot be fully comprehended apart from their religious background, and are the results in the main of their religious principles. These early radicals advanced beyond the freedom of worship for which most sectaries were striving to liberty and justice in the state. To prove these theses Dr. Robertson, naturally enough, relies largely on John Lilburne, the leader and easily the most prolific author, and is, perhaps, rather kinder to him than he deserves. Lilburne's great faults were his arrogance and his contentiousness. His knowledge of the Scriptures did not induce Christian humility. His unwillingness to compromise may have damaged his cause. However, in one place only, unfairness to the Levellers' opponents has been noticed—in the statement that Cromwell and the Independents first used the Levellers but then, when "expediency served," jailed their leaders. Fear lest the Levellers would cause a mutiny in the army was the chief cause of their leaders' arrest. A small point is that a reference to an irregularly paged work like Edwards' *Gangraena* should be to a signature rather than a page, and on page 35 no reference is supplied to the Presbyterian's denunciation of Spencer as "a horse-rubber." A most valuable appendix gives a list of the references Lilburne made to his contemporaries or their writings, to published legal treatises and histories, and to constitutional documents like Magna Carta. The last would be most useful to anyone compiling a history of the Great Charter in the seventeenth century. One pleasing feature is the accuracy of the quotations, though it might have been well to note that they are modernized.

GODFREY DAVIES, *Huntington Library*

REFLECTIONS ON THE CONSTITUTION: THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, THE CABINET, THE CIVIL SERVICE. By *Harold J. Laski*. (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1951, pp. 220, 12s. 6d.) These lectures, now happily printed, were given by Professor Laski at the University of Manchester some six weeks before his death. The undoubted pleasure that must have attended his delivery of them is thus extended to that wider audience that for some years has been so often in Professor Laski's debt. While the present studies are in no sense a fitting capstone for the life work of one of our most prolific, provocative, and sensitive political thinkers, they partake unmistakably of the Laski flavor. As one reads, it is not difficult to conjure up memories of the lecturer, his hands grasping the lapels of his jacket, weaving with precision the net of logic within which he quickly, and usually unerringly, ensnared his quarry. At Manchester, Professor Laski set for himself the task of examining the present positions of the House of Commons, the cabinet, and the civil service. His own experiences over the preceding thirty years had been so rich that the lectures wandered into many delightful bypaths of recollection and contained observations that often were rewarding in the general history of the period. The three institutions that submit to the probing survive their trial very well. The House of Commons, despite its groaning and creaking under the strains of a widely expanded activity, is found, on the whole, to do its work as it should be done. Laski does not hold with those who would make changes to alter the essential fabric of that historic institution. It might be well to have standing committees for the nationalized industries and to improve the relationship between the House and departments of government by the establishment of advisory committees; little, however, could be gained and much lost by any alteration of the fundamental character of the House and its function as the protector of the rights and freedoms of the citizen. For the cabinet the suggestion is made that corporate responsibility be made truly corporate by a wider circulation of cabinet papers so all might know the business afoot and, mayhap, participate in its

progress. Some gain is also seen in broadening the basis upon which the decision to request a dissolution is made by bringing the other cabinet ministers into its formulation. There is something in the contention that the modern cabinet has become too large; its size should not exceed fifteen. Civil servants should be a bit more daring in their approach to the problems of administration. The lack of imaginative insight keeps the service too pedestrian and tends to hamper and retard the advancement of the most able. These qualities could be strengthened by a system of exchanges within the national service and between services on an international basis. Laski comes down with force against the restrictions on the after-office-hours political activities of the civil servant. These suggestions are modest enough and, although persuasively argued, will by no means abate the rising insistence that something must be done to bring the efficiency and responsibility of governmental action in line with its tremendously enlarged function. Perhaps of greatest value to the historian are the many asides in which Professor Laski throws light upon some troublesome or controversial aspect of recent history—at times with greater assurance than may be justified.

JAMES L. GODFREY, *University of North Carolina*

THE IRISH PARLIAMENTARY PARTY, 1890-1910. By F. S. L. Lyons, Lecturer in History in the University College of Hull. [Studies in Irish History, Volume IV.] (London, Faber and Faber, 1951, pp. 284, 25s.) This careful and clearly written study of the twenty years following Parnell's fall suffers inevitably from the nature of its subject matter, which is "only sterility and the sullen silence of despair." The activities, organizational methods, and educational and occupational backgrounds of politicians who "were themselves bankrupt of ideas" are conscientiously and dispassionately examined. The reader is left with no doubt how it happened that the jejune character of Parnellism, once his personal magnetism was gone, resulted by 1900 in "the sordid spectacle of the Irish parliamentary party, poverty-stricken, ridden with dissension, seemingly on the verge of dissolution." The author clearly indicates that what little vitality the party later regained resulted from its partial loss of leadership to the United Irish League; the U.I.L., originally rooted in the agrarian difficulties of Connaught, was soon captured by the party, but not without confronting the politicians with the problem of choosing between an effort to secure the maximum of economic and social reform for Ireland or to persist blindly in the sheer demand for Home Rule, with consequent abject dependence on the English liberals. The situation "led the party into a series of false positions in which it had appeared by times quarrelsome and captious, insatiable and untrustworthy." It was of course a dilemma which had plagued Parnell and complicated his relations with Davitt. A fact not sufficiently realized is that Parnell's debacle as a statesman came shortly after his breach with Davitt when, in 1886, his effort to snatch quick constitutional triumph from an ephemeral situation committed his party to that dependence on Gladstonian Liberalism which contributed so much to his personal catastrophe, in 1890, as a party leader. It was idle for his successors, who had ruthlessly cast him aside, to make the gesture, in 1894, of returning to Mr. Gladstone his £100 contribution to their party funds. The damage was irretrievable, for Gladstone was unable to deliver political gains, unwilling to attempt socio-economic benefits for Ireland. It was the Unionists who reformed local government in Ireland, who created a peasant proprietary class, who promoted agricultural co-operation and technical instruction. The Irish parliamentary party could only resist these major improvements in the condition of the Irish people, for Parnell and his rebellious lieutenants alike had backed the wrong horse. The author unfortunately does not complete the story through the passage of the Home Rule Act and the triumph of Sinn Féin, but in a very perceptive con-

cluding chapter, well rooted in the body of his findings, he clearly points to the reasons for the degeneration and sudden demise of the Irish parliamentary party.

JESSE D. CLARKSON, *Brooklyn College*

OVERSEA SETTLEMENT: MIGRATION FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM TO THE DOMINIONS. By G. F. Plant, Secretary of the United Kingdom Government Oversea Settlement Committee, 1918-37. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1951, pp. vi, 186, \$3.00.) This is an informative and useful book. Quite properly the author has given less than one fourth of his space to the period before 1914 which has been adequately covered by other writers and only a few pages to developments since 1945 the trends of which are not yet clearly discernible. It is to migration during the interwar period that Mr. Plant devotes the major part of his discussion. Because of his experience as secretary of the Oversea Settlement Committee (later Board) 1918-1937, he is qualified to interpret accurately both the purposes of the Emigration Bill of 1918 which, because of strong opposition, was withdrawn before the armistice of November 11 and the proposals of the Oversea Settlement Committee for dealing with problems of postwar emigration. The first recommendations of the committee for a government free-passage scheme for ex-service men and women which ran from 1919 to 1922 and for the organization on a voluntary basis of the Society for Oversea Settlement of British Women (1919) were followed by the passing of the Empire Settlement Act of 1922. This act recognized the problem of migration as one of more effective distribution of manpower within the Commonwealth. It therefore authorized the Colonial Secretary to co-operate with the authorities of the various Dominions in promoting and partially financing, when necessary, the emigration of Britons desiring to leave the United Kingdom for homes overseas. The author explains in great detail the various kinds of assisted passages and the numerous land settlement schemes developed under this act—none of the latter successful, many of them disastrous. He also sets forth the difficulties of the Dominions in absorbing the newcomers and the valuable service rendered by voluntary societies. This discussion, plus excellent summaries of reports of commissions and committees on migration and population, reveals the interrelation between migration of people, migration of capital, and growth of trade. Following such an exposition of the problem, the author's conclusions and recommendations are bound to carry weight. A list of official papers and a good index add to the value of the book.

EDITH DOBIE, *University of Washington*

TWILIGHT OF THE MUGHULS: STUDIES IN LATE MUGHUL DELHI. By Percival Spear, Fellow of Selwyn College, Cambridge. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1951, pp. xi, 270, \$3.75.) The book under review is a careful and objective study of late Mogul Delhi, giving us interesting and reliable information about social and political conditions of the country surrounding Delhi, as well as the machinery of administration of the Moguls and of British rulers such as Wellesley and Metcalfe. This work very creditably supplements monumental studies of Mogul India by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the greatest authority in this field, and other scholars such as the late Mr. Moreland. The growing weakness of the Mogul power in Delhi during the latter part of the eighteenth century and the rise of the Marhattas encouraged the British toward establishing their own power. However the author throws occasional light on the continuous British policy of ignoring Mogul supremacy whenever possible. The authority of the Mogul emperor was decidedly undermined during the period from 1803 to 1811. This is quite evident from the fact that Wellesley in his dispatches to the directors of the East India Company held that the emperor,

Shah Alam, was accepting "protection under the British crown," whereas it is clear that he was "accepting friendship" as "a favored son" (p. 44). Regarding British administration and its policies, one finds two distinct trends in the attitude of high British officials. One group could not see any good in anything Indian, including the village community system, while the other group, among them Sir Charles Metcalfe, detected a fundamental soundness in the existing system which Metcalfe tried to modify to suit new conditions. In the last two chapters of the work the author deals with "Mutiny in Delhi and Its Aftermath," in which he exposes some of the most unpleasant and brutal conduct of British officers during and immediately after the mutiny. The last of the Mogul emperors, Bahadur Shah, was tried on charge of aiding and abetting rebellion and the massacre of British women and children and also because, "being a subject of the British Government, he proclaimed himself sovereign of India and waged war against the Government" (pp. 222-23). He was convicted and with immediate members of his family was sent to Rangoon as an exiled prisoner, where he died. So ended the Mogul rulers of India. But the author also gives us the other side of the case, which was, some sixty years after the trial (1918), presented by the British scholar F. W. Buckler in his study "Political Theory of the Indian Mutiny" published in the *Transactions* of the Royal Historical Society. Buckler indicated that there was not sufficient proof that Bahadur Shah was ever a party to the massacre of British women and children or that he initiated or promoted the mutiny, although he later became a party to it. In any case he could not and should not have been tried as a "rebel," because Bahadur Shah was never a British subject; on the contrary he was in 1857 the *de jure* emperor of India. Thus, "It was the British East India Company which rebelled against the king" (p. 223).

TARAKNATH DAS, *Columbia University*

THE PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE OF LORD MACARTNEY, GOVERNOR OF MADRAS (1781-85). Edited for the Royal Historical Society by C. Collin Davies, Reader in Indian History in the University of Oxford. [Camden Third Series, Volume LXXVII.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1950, pp. xxiv, 236.) Specialists on the history of India during the days of the East India Company will welcome the appearance of this volume of Macartney's private letters as a valuable addition to the basic sources for the period. In attacking the problems involved in attaining a balanced presentation of company affairs one feels constantly the need for additional insights. Partisan writing has cluttered the stage too long and it would seem apparent that a return to the original sources is imperative if obscure and contradictory views are to be re-examined. Macartney wrote at length to Hastings and Eyre Coote and received copious replies. A good part of the material is, of course, of minor importance but a careful perusal proves to be most rewarding for a better appreciation of the consolidation of British rule in India. Particularly interesting are Macartney's references to the Benfields and to their dealings with the "country powers." Professor Davies has chosen to present the letters chronologically by author, which detracts from their usefulness. He has, however, added numerous helpful notes and comments that enrich the material presented in the letters and illuminate obscure references. His introduction to the volume is also most welcome, giving the reader a coherent view of the events that transpired in the Indian Empire during the epoch when these fascinating, crotchety, and frequently irascible gentlemen were in command of events. As would be expected, the present volume sheds interesting light on the disagreement that marred Macartney's relationship with Hastings. This is done less through new factual material than through the illumination given the character of these gentlemen by their personal correspondence. Taken in conjunction with other

materials now available to us, these letters do much to round out a picture that had remained regrettably obscure.

ROBERT I. CRANE, *University of Chicago*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

THE PEOPLE'S GENERAL: THE PERSONAL STORY OF LAFAYETTE. By David Loth. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951, pp. vi, 346, \$3.50.) In the June, 1930, issue of the *Journal of Modern History* Professor Louis Gottschalk published a review article on Lafayette in which he pointed out that there really was no need for either of the books (by John Simpson Penman and Brand Whitlock) under particular discussion. Charavay had not been superseded. Despite such a severe judgment other full-length biographies of the hero later appeared: Andreas Latzko's in 1936, W. E. Woodward's in 1938. And now, in 1951, we have David Loth's book. According to the dust jacket, it is based in part on research material in European archives, "so that for the first time Lafayette is presented in both his American and French roles." When a reputable publishing house indulges in this sort of thing, what is one to think? Biographers of Lafayette usually succumb so completely to his appealing qualities that they find it difficult to treat fairly those of his contemporaries who were not in sympathy with him. Mr. Loth is no exception. In describing the opening of the Estates General, for example, he pictures Marie Antoinette as wishing for "the power to stick a sharp pin into eighteen million people with a single jab" (p. 182).

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

One would like to know the source of such a statement; the author in fact eschews footnotes entirely. No mention is made of Malouet's appraisal of Lafayette. Although the book has little or no value for the scholar, it may serve a need that did not exist twenty years ago. Our wounds from the recent war have scarcely healed. In the midst of the present cynicism and disillusionment, this well-written new book on a man who kept the faith may be in order. Certainly Mr. Loth found in Lafayette an "excellent companion." And he does not pretend to have improved upon Charavay.

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke

BELGIAN FOREIGN POLICY BETWEEN TWO WARS, 1919-1940. By *Jane Kathryn Miller*. (New York, Bookman Associates, 1951, pp. 337, \$5.00.) A definitive account of Belgian foreign policy between World Wars I and II obviously cannot be written until all the relevant documents have been released by the respective governments. Meanwhile Miss Miller has performed a useful task in outlining the principal features of Belgian foreign policy during this period on the basis of such official records, published memoirs, and press reports as are readily available. By relying exclusively on materials written in the English or French languages, however, the author has somewhat detracted from the value of an otherwise competently written account. Thus the German, Dutch, Italian, and Swiss reactions to the isolationist attitude adopted by Belgium in 1936 are described merely on the basis of quotations in the Belgian press. The bibliography, while extensive, shows some surprising gaps, such as the failure to mention the volume on Belgium published by the University of California Press in 1943, in which Frans van Cauwelaert contributed the chapter on foreign policy. The author's use of the term "Dutch Zeeland" to indicate the territory claimed by the Belgian nationalists after World War I is misleading, for even the most rabid Belgian annexationists never dreamed of demanding the cession of the entire Dutch province of Zeeland. The term "Dutch Flanders" would have been more appropriate. An appendix listing the members of the Belgian ministries from November, 1918, to May, 1940, enhances the usefulness of Miss Miller's book as a tool for ready reference.

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Oscar J. Falnes

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

*Ernst Posner*¹

FESTSCHRIFT ZUR FEIER DES ZWEIHUNDERTJÄHRIGEN BESTANDES DES HAUS-, HOF- UND STAATSARCHIVS. Edited by *Leo Santifaller*. Volume I. [Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs, Ergänzungsband II.] (Vienna, Druck und Kommissions Verlag der österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1949, pp. v-viii, 3-795.) It is an indication of lessening interest on the part of United States scholars in general and New World medievalists in particular that not one is found among the contributors to this magnificent volume. There are, however, fifty-one contributions from Austria, one from Bulgaria, one from Germany, one from France, one from Greece, three from Great Britain, seven from Italy and South Tyrol, one from Poland, six from Switzerland, one from Spain, one from Turkey, five from Hungary, one from the Vatican City. These scholars celebrate a milestone in the life of the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, which was established by decree of the empress Maria Theresa, September 13, 1749. This volume signally demonstrates the continuing scholarly competence of Austrian savants and their colleagues. Indeed, the present reviewer has never seen a higher quality of specialized competence combined in such admirable degree with the wide scope necessary to exhibit effectively the manifold aspects of historical scholarship that depend upon archives. Truly Austria may be described in more ways than merely the political as the "grandmother of Europe." Space forbids more than a listing of the various divisions into which the contributions fall and some notice of studies of peculiar interest to the reviewer. The contents are divided into twelve studies of interest especially to archivists; four palaeographical and diplomatical studies; four in the fields of heraldry and genealogy; eighteen on individual medieval Austrian sources and collections of sources; and ten studies on modern sources and collections of sources. With the present lack of reliable data on most countries under the Stalinist terror it is important to call attention to the authoritative articles of N. Bischoff (Moscow) and D. Janossy on some notes on the history and organization of archives in the Soviet Union, and on the archival law in Hungary, respectively. Janossy's article is especially valuable because of his brief historical sketch of the Hungarian archives and his report on these repositories during and after the war period from 1939 to 1945. Another compelling study is that of Karl Pivec (Vienna) on the need for a specialized discipline for the study of recent manuscript materials comparable in historical importance to palaeography for medieval studies. "To be sure," Pivec writes, "the concept of the domain of writing is not so simple as it was in the Middle Ages; it is noticeably confined by the greater possibilities of travel, by the mediocre character of modern educational institutions, and by a different social fusion of those writing and those wise in the methods of writing as opposed to the High Middle Ages." He stresses especially changes in modern times in "the social and material conditions for the development of script." Of particular interest to medievalists the following are noted at random: H. L. Mikoletzky, "Zur Charakteristik Bruns von Querfurt"; G. Barraclough, "Briefe aus dem Reiche und andere Mitteilungen aus englischen Landesarchiven"; H. Fichtenau, "Unbekannter Lambache Annalen (1187-1243)." W. Neumüller and K. Holter of Kremsmünster have collaborated in a most fascinating bit of restoration of fragments of letters from the thirteenth century in their "Kremsmünsterer Briefe aus der Zeit des interregnums." As a by-product of

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Neumüller's brilliant accomplishment in 1947 in establishing beyond all doubt the existence of the important librarian and historian, Bernardus Noricus, hundreds of fragments of writings were found used as covers for other more highly regarded tracts. With the help of Eleonore Klee of St. Florian, Neumüller and Holter have recovered over one hundred letters written for the most part by monks of Kremsmünster during the years when Friedrich von Aich was abbot (1275 to 1325).

GEORGE BINGHAM FOWLER, *University of Pittsburgh*

KARDINAL JOHANNES GROPPER, 1503-1559: UND DIE ANFÄNGE DER KATHOLISCHEN REFORM IN DEUTSCHLAND. By *Walter Lipgens*. [Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Heft 75.] (Münster, Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1951, pp. x, 259, DM. 16.) The Reformation period is usually interpreted in the light of Reformed theology and endeavor; relatively small attention has been given to Catholic reaction in the pre-Tridentine period. Historians from Maurenbrecher to N. Paulus (especially the study on A. von Usingen, Luther's teacher and opponent) have sensed the need of a clear understanding of this phase which today is not as neglected as it used to be. But we do not yet have a history of Catholic theological development in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, bearing especially on Catholic attempts at Reformation. W. Lipgens sees in Cardinal Gropper the first German theologian in Reformation times to evaluate Catholic concepts, and to re-study Augustinianism in the light of Lutheran theology. Gropper's work has been noticed and described before; but the studies by H. Rückert, H. Jedin, and W. van Gulik failed to get at the basic issues. Lipgens' aim is to determine how Lutheranism actually reacted on West German humanists; to establish the nature of the religious forces that were released by Lutheranism and were eventually processed at Trent; to ascertain to what extent the new forces contributed to strengthen Catholic theology. A study of Gropper's theological development, Lipgens feels, is the clue to many of the problems, because Gropper is typical of the thinking man who passed from a mild endorsement of Lutheranism to an intransigent opposition. Gropper was at first drawn into the currents of humanism, tossed between the *via antiqua* and the *via moderna*, the nominalism of Occam and the *devotio moderna*. Like so many of his friends, Gropper showed a markedly friendly attitude toward Lutheranism until 1530; but after the Diet of Augsburg, he realized that the time of compromise had passed; sacrificing his beautiful friendship with Martin Bucer, and taking a resolute stand, he became the Catholic bulwark at Cologne against the Lutheran onslaught spearheaded by Archbishop von Wied. Although not a theologian by training, Gropper became an eloquent defender of the faith in widely circulated works such as *Reformatio*, *Canones*, and especially the *Enchiridion*. Gropper's views on justification were particularly in evidence; and if later on he was suspected as a "semi-Lutheran," it was largely because of his ideas on justification. The various Reform projects formulated by Gropper aroused the attention of the Curia, and he was invited to participate at Trent (1552). When Paul IV awarded him the cardinal's hat, which he accepted reluctantly and only after several refusals, Gropper was the only German cardinal who was entrusted, with other cardinals in Rome, to work out Reform projects. Lipgens' book is solid, the story is compact; every friend and foe is mentioned, no one is forgotten. While all data are not yet accessible, leaving a few gaps in the inner picture of the man, all available documents are penetratingly explored. Many unpublished sources are also brought to light such as manuscripts in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin and in the archives of the city of Cologne; and above all, Gropper's letters left by L. Schmitz-Kallenberg in the Westphalian State Archives

at Münster. This study of Lipgens is an enlightening step in a further understanding of the pre-Tridentine Catholic frame of mind.

DANIEL WALTHER, *Washington, D. C.*

JOHANNES KEPLER: LIFE AND LETTERS. By *Carola Baumgardt*. With an Introduction by Albert Einstein. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1951, pp. 209, \$3.75.) This little book does more for Kepler than any other life sketch of this great scientist known to the reviewer. The five chapters convey briefly an excellent account for the layman who wishes to know what the life of an individual in the Renaissance was really like. The title of the book is, however, somewhat misleading, for Kepler's life and writings occupy volumes. It might read "The Soul and Spirit of Johannes Kepler," for the author has done an admirable analysis of the letters at her disposal from this point of view. Also she has given proper attention to the historical place of each of Kepler's six or seven great books. Men of science in the later Renaissance, with the possible exception of Copernicus, were persecuted individuals; Bruno, Galileo, and Kepler endured various forms of punishment for their liberal and pioneer thoughts on science and philosophy: Bruno by burning, Galileo by imprisonment, but Kepler by a multitude of troubles—family, financial, and religious. Were it not for Kepler's truly religious convictions and strength of character how could he have survived the many disappointments and the poverty encountered in his struggle and search for truth in nature (the universe)? Carola Baumgardt has revealed the real personality of Kepler through these letters in a beautiful and sympathetic manner. Possibly it is only a woman who could do this. She has also shown that Kepler, as it has been said of Newton, possessed genius and a touch of divinity. Kepler was one of the giants on whose shoulders Newton stood: Kepler's three laws of planetary motion form the basis of Newton's *Principia*. This sort of humanistic biographical study, which is also a pure literary delight, is a welcome addition to our historical literature. The selective bibliography is valuable, the format is pleasing, the type is very readable, and the book is, in all, a real contribution to the history of science and culture. Albert Einstein's introduction provides a scientific appraisal and also points out a lesson of enormous importance for our own crucial times.

FREDERICK E. BRASCH, *Stanford University*

OUR GERMAN POLICY: PROPAGANDA AND CULTURE. By *Albert Norman*. (New York, Vantage Press, 1951, pp. 85, \$2.50.) Considering the relatively large number of Americans who have been associated with the occupation of Germany either as civilians or as military officials since 1945, it is rather surprising that so few books dealing with other than tactical matters have appeared. Though dealing only with the early period of the occupation, frequently designated now as the "punitive phase," Mr. Norman, who saw service in the headquarters of the Twelfth Army Group and after its deactivation in August, 1945, moved to a civilian position with the Information Control Division of the United States Forces, European Theater, and later to the Office of Military Government for Germany, has made a valuable contribution to the understanding of one of the more complicated aspects of American operations in Germany. Limiting himself to a consideration of the press, book publishing and periodicals, the radio, motion pictures, and the theater, opera, and music, he manages in a brief compass to present a well-organized and informing account of the tangled events of 1945 and 1946. A reader is impressed by the amount of factual material which is combined with general observations and by the generally objective attitude of one who has been intimately associated with highly

controversial events. Perhaps the chief regret of many will be that the author did not see fit to extend his study to a greater length.

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RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

*Sergius Yakobson*¹

THE JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION. By Solomon M. Schwarz. Foreword by Alvin Johnson, President Emeritus, New School for Social Research. (Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1951, pp. xviii, 380, \$5.00.) In Russia, where everything is under the control of a powerful government, the vicissitudes of ethnic groups are determined to a large extent by the Soviet authorities. There were three million Jews in Soviet Russia in 1939 (last census), and about five million after the annexations of 1939-1940; their present number is less than two million. Dr. Schwarz, well-known student of Russian affairs, has compiled figures and facts derived from sources in and outside of Russia to trace the evolution of Communist policy toward the Jews. His presentation is a valuable contribution to an understanding of contemporary Russia. Before the Revolution Lenin and his partisans refused to consider the Jews as a national entity with the right to autonomous existence within the framework of a free and democratic state—the goal of all anti-tsarist forces under the Romanoff rule. This attitude changed after November, 1917. The Soviet government afforded the Jews the status of a national minority. Schools in which Yiddish was the medium of teaching, a Yiddish theater, Yiddish publications, and other Jewish cultural and educational activities enjoyed governmental support. The Soviet regime even undertook to organize autonomous Jewish life on a territorial basis: Jewish soviets and courts in districts of large Jewish population, resettlement of surplus Jewish population on land (the agricultural colonies in the Crimea), and the establishment of a "Jewish territory" in Birobijan. All this, of course, was under strict control of the ruling party with the aim of eliminating the Jewish anti-Bolshevik elements and increasing the influence of the Jewish Communists, who have remained a small group among the Russian Jews. The Jewish policy of the Kremlin corresponded to its general attitude toward all national minorities in the Soviet Union. The author shows that although the right of self-determination and self-government actually never existed in Communist Russia, the minority peoples were given an opportunity to rise to higher cultural levels. After the end of World War II the policy of the Soviet authorities toward the Jews changed drastically (the inception of this change can be traced to the second half of the 1930's, the time of the great purges), and Russian Jewry is no

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

longer being treated as a national minority. Most Jewish cultural and educational institutions, including the theaters and press, were closed down; Yiddish schools were not resumed after 1945; Jewish agricultural colonies in the Crimea were not restored; and many outstanding Jewish writers, poets, and scholars were deported. Dr. Schwarz concludes that present Soviet policy toward the Jews corresponds to the original doctrine formulated by Lenin approximately fifty years ago. About one third of the book is devoted to anti-Semitism in Russia. The author points out that because of lack of factual information no final conclusions can be made. Nevertheless the material he has collected leaves little doubt that Soviet leaders do not disdain to exploit prejudice against the Jews in order to foster their own position in the country. Dr. Schwarz's book is published under the auspices of the American Jewish Committee.

BORIS SAPIR, *New York, N. Y.*

A KEY TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE TERRITORY OF KLADSKO (GLATZ): A STUDY OF A FRONTIER PROBLEM IN MIDDLE EUROPE. By Milič Čapek. (New York, Richard Vogel, 1946, pp. 153.) The northern frontier of Bohemia, facing Germany, has, throughout its history, tended to follow the crest of the mountain ranges. Numerous physical irregularities have resulted in several sharp salients extending either into Germany, as at Asch, or into Bohemia, as the much larger rectangle of Kladsko (Glatz). Until the time of Frederick II of Prussia this salient was a part of the kingdom of Bohemia but has since then formed a part of the duchy of Silesia. The question whether this territory of 630 square miles should revert to Czechoslovakia was raised at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, but decided in the negative. Mr. Čapek follows the vicissitudes of this "square," emphasizing its strategic importance in the frame of the larger movements of aggression from the tenth century to 1945. One example of the geopolitical and military significance of Kladsko which has escaped most historical observation is the fact that Bohemian resistance to the imperial armies after the White Mountain (1620) continued in Kladsko to the end of 1622. Count Thurn held out for months in the fortress of Kladsko with less than 2,000 troops against many times that number of imperial soldiery. From the weight of historical evidence the author urges that the utilization of this "square" by aggressors from the north throughout ten centuries in order to break into the Danube basin demands that it be incorporated into the territory of Czechoslovakia in order to strengthen that country's position as the bastion of Central European freedom. Certainly these facts should be kept in mind in any reconstruction of Central Europe, which, as has always happened in the past, will naturally come again.

S. H. THOMSON, *University of Colorado*

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer¹

ATLAS OF ISLAMIC HISTORY. Compiled by *Harry W. Hazard*. Maps executed by *H. Lester Cooke, Jr.*, and *J. McA. Smiley*. [Princeton Oriental Studies, Volume XII.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. 49, \$4.00.) Students of Asiatic history have long lacked detailed historical atlases and have had to rely on scattered maps in textbooks. This lack is now partly supplied from Princeton, whose handsome new atlas will be indispensable to all nonspecialists interested in the Muslim countries. The maps are clearly printed and brightly colored, and it is valuable to have a century-by-century picture of religious frontiers, kingdoms, and cities, from the seventh century to the twentieth. Yet these maps could have been still more useful if they had contained greater detail. Many more towns could have been inserted on the historical maps than there are: for instance, none of them shows more than seven cities in Egypt. There should have been historical maps of special areas such as Egypt and Mesopotamia, plans of cities such as Cairo, Constantinople, Baghdad, Isfahan, and one or two linguistic maps. No map shows medieval India or the Far East as known to the Muslims. Such maps could have been substituted for the population figures for Europe (p. 4); the modern maps of India and the Far East (p. 41)—to be found in any modern atlas; the conversion table of dates (pp. 44-45). This reviewer would have found orographical coloring of greater interest in the historical maps than the existing coloring by religions, especially as the latter does not indicate the religion of the people of each region but only of the state. Nomenclature is highly accurate, but it should have been explained that names are everywhere transcribed from the language of the *ruling* people of the time, not that of the natives of each country. The text opposite each map compresses much handy information, but is sometimes too impassioned and contains needless comparisons between the civilizations of East and West. There is a useful list of Muslim populations. Some faults of detail can be found; perhaps the most striking is the omission of Rome from a map of the Crusades. It is to be hoped that this atlas will be followed by a more substantial work for scholars and specialists. GEORGE F. HOURANI, *University of Michigan*

BRITAIN AND THE MIDDLE EAST: FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1950.

By Sir *Reader Bullard*, H.M. Minister (Afterwards Ambassador) at Tehran, 1939-46. [Hutchinson's University Library.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1951, pp. 195, trade \$2.00, text \$1.60.) This is a well-informed little volume by a British career diplomat who has served almost a lifetime in the area about which he writes. It provides a swift-moving introduction for the lay reader to the significant story of the evolution of Britain's relations with the Middle East since the early Middle Ages. The brief chapters (one third of the book) which sketch the development of travel and trade with the Levant and Persia and Britain's rivalries with the other Great Powers in the Middle East prior to World War I present a skillful (though for the most part conventional) summary of events. The author, who might be characterized as an enlightened imperialist, justifies or openly approves nearly every phase of Britain's action in the earlier period. His treatment of events since 1914 is often more critical (for example, the McMahon correspondence is termed a "monument of ambiguity" [p. 69]); though he finds little to reprehend in the famous Agreement with Persia (1919), while only conceding that "extremists" might say that Iraq's

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

independence was not complete under the Anglo-Iraq treaty of 1930. The Egyptians, he remarks elsewhere, have not yet understood the "realities" of Middle East defense. Nevertheless, making allowance for the author's point of view, he gives a very informative survey of recent developments in Turkey, Egypt, Iran, and the Arab countries. There is revealed a vast knowledge of events and a keen appreciation not only of foreign interests but also of the subtle interplay of internal forces within the region. His appraisal of the Palestine problem is particularly good—though it will satisfy neither Arab nor Jew. While frequent references are made to Britain's interest in Middle East oil, a fuller and more connected account would have been welcome. The volume closes with some suggestions as to how Britain may aid the Middle East in the future through educational and other activities.

MORTON B. STRATTON, *Denison University*

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard¹

COLLISION OF EAST AND WEST. By Herrymon Maurer. With an Introduction by Hu Shih. (Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1951, pp. xvi, 352, \$4.50.) The author of this work is a Quaker with long experience as a teacher in China. This particular study, based on articles which he wrote for *Fortune* between 1942 and 1948, is intended as the first of a series of volumes on cultural collision. In the opening chapter the author states his purpose as an "attempt to press urgently the conviction that the world . . . is of such a nature that outward activity, however well-intentioned, invites personal and international disaster whenever it is not based on a profound inner awareness of other persons, other nations, other cultures" (p. 4). This moral truth he undertakes to demonstrate by an analysis of cultural conflict between China, Japan, and the West. This conflict springs from "the mistake of treating Eastern peoples not straightforwardly as persons who are valuable in themselves but rather as units of population which can be used as means to some greater end" (p. 299). Essentially, therefore, this work is a sermon rather than a historical work or a sociological analysis. Mr. Maurer's first concern is to give his readers clues to the understanding of Asiatic peoples, to which end he formulates rather pat diagnoses of national psychology. The Chinese are best comprehended through Confucianism and Taoism, the Japanese through their traditional ethical system. But Westerners achieved no such understanding, and during the critical decade of 1937 to 1947 the misunderstandings between the Far Eastern peoples and the West headed up into outright collision. These years are discussed in terms of the relations between China, Japan, the United States, and Russia, but the discussion is on a philosophical plane rather than on the level of detail of diplomatic dealings. The author combines a strong moral sense with considerable verbal facility. He gives his interpretation of the history of the modern Far East with notable deftness and great assurance. At moments he even tends to convey the impression that the understanding of "the East," which has been denied to all other Americans, has somehow been revealed to him alone. The collision of East and West is obviously one of the great themes of modern history, which calls for much careful and judicious study as the proper preliminary of general interpretive works such as this aspires to be. This is not a historian's book, but it may have the merit of directing the lay reader's attention

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

to the nonpolitical and nonmilitary aspects of cultural conflict in Asia and it is unquestionably infused with strong moral purpose.

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A HISTORY OF CHINA. By *W. E. Soothill*, Late Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford. Revised and Edited, with a Supplementary Chapter, by *G. F. Hudson*, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (New York, Contemporary Books, 1951, pp. 127, \$1.50.) One glimpses in this slight volume a historical retrospect extending farther back than that of any existent race or continuing culture. From dim beginnings on the banks of the Yellow River, with a civilization already perfected two millennia before our era, the national existence of the Chinese people, as they became out of many racial elements, remains unbroken. The present sleeve edition of China's history describes in briefest form the entire sweep and flow of the archaic Middle Empire. Its author, the late Professor Soothill, was profoundly versed in the very language of the great Chinese historians. The lesson drawn is, if history is to convey a moral as the two *Ssu-ma's*, *Ch'ien* and *Kuang*, held, that the Chinese people are anything but the pacifists of Western concepts. They are rather a supremely arrogant, aggressive folk with whom warfare, bloodshed, massacre, and depopulation were constants over untold generations. Professor Hudson's postscript, the chapter "China since 1927," brings the impressive story of China down to the recent anomalous "republic" and the present "people's democracy," closing surprisingly enough on a hopeful note.

ESSON M. GALE, *University of Michigan*

THE PACIFIC ISLANDS. By *Douglas L. Oliver*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1951, pp. x, 313, \$5.00.) It is highly useful when a competent specialist takes time out from writing his scientific papers and monographs to address a general book to the nonspecialist reader. In this case, anthropologist Oliver of Harvard, after doing research work in the South Pacific (Solomons) before the war, and being engaged in important war and postwar activities relating to the area (Board of Economic Warfare, United States Commercial Company, State Department, etc.), presumably had to get such a general work out of his system before he could settle down again fully to academic specialization. The result is a most happy and useful addition to the very few general works on the Pacific island area and its peoples. Dr. Oliver's brush paints largely but surely. A first section of some sixty pages on "The Islanders" introduces this "oceanic Eden" and its Australian aborigine, Melanesian, Polynesian, and Micronesian peoples, and gives a professionally valid summary of the migration problem. (*Kon-Tiki* notwithstanding, all scientific evidence, racial, archaeological, linguistic, and so on, points to Malaysia as the area from which the ancestors of these people fanned out, though it is a fair assumption that some of the Polynesian "Vikings" may have reached the American side, and a few canoes may even have found their way back via the South Equatorial Current which the *Kon-Tiki* raft rode.) Then come fifty pages on "The Aliens"—explorers, whalers, traders, missionaries, planters, blackbirders, miners, and administrators. The four centuries from the first Portuguese and Spanish explorers up to the time of the Japanese invasion during World War II are delineated with colorful, well-written emphasis on the historical highlights. Then follow 150 pages under the title "Metamorphosis," analyzing further the processes of change and resistance to change during this period, moving from territory to territory—"the dispossessed" (indigenous groups in Australia and New Zealand), "salvation" (Tonga, Wesleyan stronghold), "coconut civilization" (the tropical island groups), "sugar revolution" (Hawaii), "sea harvest" (Torres Straits), "mining" (the guano and phosphate islands, mineral

exploitation in New Caledonia and New Guinea), "bases" (Guam, former Japanese islands, etc.). A final section of fifty pages on "Cataclysm and Aftermath" surveys the war and postwar periods and makes an interesting prognostication on "Utopia's prospects." The book has a selected bibliography of some eighty titles, together with several sketch maps, and also attractive chapter-head decorations in black and white by the author's wife. It will need to go on every shelf of standard Pacific works and will be useful reading for any prospective visitor to the area. Others will want to look through the book to see how far the persistent "South Sea escape dream" which artists, novelists, Broadway, and Hollywood can still exploit with profit within our tension-beset society is really true.

FELIX M. KEESING, *Stanford University*

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

INTRODUCTION TO SOURCES OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By *William Carl Spielman*. (New York, Exposition Press, 1951, pp. 175, \$3.00.) The purpose of this book is "to give the reader an over-all picture of the sources of American history." Sources are classified in seven groups—relics, traditions, private documents, public and semipublic documents, biography, composite writing (a misnomer for secondary works), counterfeit writings—and are discussed in seventy-eight small pages. A bibliographical appendix of almost equal length contains references representative of each classification. Professor Spielman asserts that "this is not a book on historical research." That is obvious from a casual glance; less clear is its value for readers of any type or age. The treatment is unoriginal, elementary, superficial, and sometimes contradictory. Everything useful has been said before and said much better. The beginner will still prefer Allan Nevins' *Gateway to History*, on which this author leans heavily. Mr. Spielman's footnotes are revealing. Two out of the first three cite articles in the *Reader's Digest*, while five of the first seven in chapter three refer to the Nevins work. Both text and documentation are filled with such errors as Beard's *Economic Interpretations of the Federal Constitution*. The slovenly character of the bibliographical lists is even more glaring. Mistakes in names, titles, dates, and volumes abound, a defect serious enough in any publication but a damning one in a handbook devoted to introducing novices to the discipline. A full bill of particulars would take many times the space allotted to this review. It is enough to say that when statesmen like George F. Hoar become G. H. Hoare, Edmund Ruffin, Edmund Ruffner and R. Y. Hayne, R. Y. Haines; when historians like Paxson are listed as Paxau, Commager as Commanger, and McIlwain as McIlvain; when *Rock of Chickamauga* emerges as *Chicamonga*; when Allan Nevins is given as editor of the three-volume *Ordeals of the Union*; when the Adams memoirs are reduced from twelve volumes to two; and when the Birney Letters of 1831-1857, published in 1938, appear as covering 1831-1837 and printed in 1943, it is time to call a spade a spade. In short, there is nothing to commend this effort unless it be as an example of how not to introduce students to sources of American history.

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD, *Northwestern University*

THE HOMES OF AMERICA AS THEY HAVE EXPRESSED THE LIVES OF OUR PEOPLE FOR THREE CENTURIES. By *Ernest Pickering*. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1951, pp. 284, \$5.75.) The man who attempts to present the 340-year history of this country as a background for domestic architecture in a richly illustrated book of less than 300 pages is a brave man. Dean Ernest Pickering, of the College

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

of Applied Arts at the University of Cincinnati, is such a man. The result is a book that the architectural historian may scoff at or admire, according to his own predilections, but that is of considerable interest to those outside the special field of architectural history. To this large task of synthesis, Dean Pickering has brought years of study and experience in architecture and planning. Deliberately he has set out to produce a semipopular book, undocumented and with not even a bibliographical note. It is a very personal book in its choice of excellent illustrations and in its proportions. The author, for example, gives short shrift to influences such as the Spanish and French, which are presented, pictures and all, in ten pages. Nonetheless, to have done this job at all is a feat of some magnitude. Presented in historical and chronological sequence, the homes, including "unimportant" as well as "important" buildings, and the people who produced them are presented in pleasant if not very exciting prose. Since the bold outlines are here in spite of some gaps, the reader becomes aware of the fact that American architecture is a mirror reflecting the lives of the people. The homes of our forebears become as truly documentary sources as the letters and diaries they wrote. Social historians who have never given more than scant lip service to our architecture as a source of knowledge of our history might do well to add this book to their reading lists. It might even impel some to make use of the buildings themselves, many of them saved for public view, which offer testimony to the *modus vivendi* of our ancestors. There is a bonus as well for those who read the book to the end, for Dean Pickering explains contemporary architecture lucidly and logically in terms of human needs and technological advance. Even the staunchest traditionalist will be impressed with the progress that has been made in adaptation to environment through the use of new materials and because of new concepts of living. All of us may not be ready for the change, but the architectural path to the future is clearly marked.

FREDERICK L. RATH, JR., *Washington, D. C.*

THEY GAVE US FREEDOM: THE AMERICAN STRUGGLE FOR LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS, AS SEEN IN PORTRAITS, SCULPTURES, HISTORICAL PAINTINGS AND DOCUMENTS OF THE PERIOD: 1761-1789. (Williamsburg, Va., Colonial Williamsburg, 1951, pp. 66, \$2.50.) In this attractive little volume there are reproduced documents, portraits, and other pictures illustrative of the events connected with the American Revolution and the formation of the federal Union. The paintings, some of which are originals and some copies, have been collected from various sources and were on exhibition in the historic Wren Building of the College of William and Mary. Except for the omission of a few portraits which should have been included, the selection is a fair representation of the leadership of the period. One wonders, however, why James Wilson of Pennsylvania was not listed. There is also no portrait (except in imaginary scenes) of the marquis de Lafayette. This was apparently an oversight, as a noted painting of him is given in the tabulated list. By a brief running narrative each of the personages portrayed is given his proper place in the historical setting.

O. P. CHITWOOD, *Stetson University*

THE AMERICAN COMMON SCHOOL: AN HISTORIC CONCEPTION. By Lawrence A. Cremin. [Teachers College Studies in Education.] (New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951, pp. xi, 248, \$3.50.) This is a study of the origins of an American institution, the common school. The common school (a school common to all children alike, whether rich or poor, humble or proud, of any faith or none) was the father of our present educational system. Mr. Cremin's analysis of

its beginnings is called "brilliant" by George S. Counts in his foreword to the study. There seems little reason to qualify that characterization to any great extent. Mr. Cremin is aware that an institution such as the common school is a result of the interplay of social conditions and ideas at a particular time and place. Therefore, he examines in detail the trends in American society in the first half of the nineteenth century that produced the common school. He believes that four movements of the time were basic in producing this institution: the democratization of American politics (the extension of the franchise, the rise of popular interest in the functions of government, and the conception of universal eligibility for public office); the struggle to preserve social equality (the sensitivity of laborers and small farmers to the badges of aristocracy of the day, including the pauper school); the rise of nationalism (the necessity to Americanize the immigrants then pouring into American society); and changes in the conception of man and society (the development of a liberal Christianity and a belief in the dynamic possibilities of democracy). These four forces Mr. Cremin relates to the coming of the common school as an educational ideal in both the minds of educational reformers of the period and the people as a whole, and from these things he traces the development of the common school. The latter half of the study is an attempt to show the transfer of these ideas from thought-patterns to actual practice in the various state educational systems. This study is a fine example of the light that social and intellectual history can shed on the development of institutions. Mr. Cremin sought out the origins of the ideas that made up the tradition of the common school, traced their spread throughout portions of early nineteenth-century society, and then pointed out the immediate consequences of the ideas. The only appreciable weakness in the study is that, when Mr. Cremin comes to trace the development of the common schools themselves, he uses as his evidence for the evolving pattern of educational growth the laws that were passed from time to time. It should be evident by this time that such a procedure is not valid, for the administration of the laws determines what the school system will be, not the laws themselves. They can only suggest limits to the historian. But this is a minor criticism. The study as a whole is excellent.

NORMAN F. WEAVER, *New York State College for Teachers, Buffalo*

HISTORY OF THE Y.M.C.A. IN NORTH AMERICA. By C. Howard Hopkins. (New York, Association Press, 1951, pp. xii, 818, \$5.00.) No church leader or church historian can afford to miss this book. It is a definitive work. The YMCA in this country and abroad has made a unique contribution—and one that is too little appreciated or often grudgingly recognized by the church—to the growth among the Protestant churches of a desire for unity and the creation of the channels for ecumenic activity for the Christian community. In its trail-blazing work of evangelism, Christian fellowship, and practical service, clergy and laymen have found themselves united for more than a century across all the lines of race and creed or the differences created by the accidents of ecclesiastical history. Truly this God-inspired movement uniting men and boys in urban communities, rural life, schools and colleges, and in the extension of the association around the world has been the seedbed of the ecumenic church. As early as 1869, an international convention declared that "in theory and practice the Young Men's Christian Association recognizes the essential unity of the Church of Christ and is bound to extend the right hand of fellowship to all who love the Lord Jesus whatever their ecclesiastical name, or the peculiarities of their denominational polity." Many if not most of the great leaders of contemporary movements for church unity achieved their ecumenic faith and developed their techniques for co-operative work through their work in and for the

YMCA in communities, colleges, national and world conferences. The YMCA's were ecumenic in spirit and fact decades before the churches were prepared nationally or on a world-wide basis to create the ecclesiastical structure for ecumenic church activity. Probably the YMCA's greatest gift to the church has been the leadership of that great statesman of the ecumenic movement, Dr. John R. Mott. Perhaps more fully than any other religious movement, the YMCA has in the words of Dr. Hopkins "mirrored American Protestantism." The movement he says "not only attached itself to the evangelical churches, but it breathed their theological and ethical atmosphere." This story dramatizes the amazing mobility and adaptability of the YMCA to changing social and religious needs of successive generations of boys and young men. It has stood out boldly in American life for a ministry to all the needs of youth—social, moral, physical, mental, and spiritual. The triangle—body, mind, and spirit—is a symbol around the world of a total Christian ministry. The pioneering activities of the YMCA for rural, urban, and college youth as well as for railroad workers, men in industries, and in the armed services in peace and war times have given a substance to its ministries that has been a constant challenge to the churches and a constant example to many youth-serving agencies in national and world life. The record that Dr. Hopkins gives of the amazing world service program of the YMCA's is impressive not only for its extent but even more for its undergirding philosophy. Even the earliest YMCA's in mission lands declared that "our privileges are accorded without distinction of race or creed." As early as 1909 John Mott established for the YMCA a policy which in more recent years has become the governing philosophy of most foreign missionary boards. "Our great idea," he said, "is to make ourselves not indispensable but dispensable . . . to plant the Association idea in the hearts and minds of native young men, in order that they may propagate the movement themselves, and let us go home as soon as may be." How well this policy of developing self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating YMCA's has worked may be judged by the strength of the movement in those countries of the world from which the direct aid of the American movement must be withdrawn because of political revolutions. Perhaps the greatest testimony to the authentic character of the Christian witness of the movement is to be found in its work among Negro youth, its growing leadership in interracial concerns, and its capacity today to keep its essential Protestant character and yet include in its fellowship and work hundreds of thousands of youth whose spiritual rootage is in non-Protestant religious communions. In this book, Dr. Hopkins has given us one of the best written and most carefully documented histories of any of the movements arising out of Protestant Christianity.

CLARENCE P. SHEDD, *Yale Divinity School*

TRAVELS IN AMERICA, 1816-1817. By *Edouard de Montulé*. Translated from the Original French Edition of 1821 by *Edward D. Seeber*, Professor of French, Indiana University. [Indiana University Publications, Social Science Series, No. 9.] (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1950, pp. 197, \$3.00.) Montulé, about whom nothing is now known except from the internal evidence of this narrative, was apparently a native of Le Mans, an officer of the Napoleonic army, and less than thirty years of age at the time of his eleven-month visit to the Western Hemisphere. Landing in early November of 1816, he spent about two months in New York and Philadelphia, devoted the late winter and early spring to a voyage to the West Indies, and completed his circle by way of the Mississippi, Ohio, and Mohawk Valleys. With no pretense to the profundity of a De Tocqueville and handicapped by a limited knowledge of English that caused him to rely on others of French origin as his informants, he was nevertheless observant and intelligent. His good nature and understanding

tolerance shine through this smooth translation into English. With apparently a fairly good foundation in natural history, Montulé was also thoroughly interested in human beings wherever he went. He recorded, with a minimum of grumbling, the primitive conditions of travel which he experienced. He described in some detail the early Fulton steamboat *Vesuvius* on which he ascended the Mississippi. The narrative consists of twenty-four letters sent back to France. It was published in 1821. The only previous translation into English, in part only and carelessly performed, appeared in the same year. Considerable value is added by the excellently reproduced lithographs, prepared by the traveler himself from on-the-spot sketches. W.G.

A FRIENDLY MISSION: JOHN CANDLER'S LETTERS FROM AMERICA, 1853-1854. Edited by *Gayle Thornbrough*. [Indiana Historical Society Publications, Volume XVI, No. 1.] (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1951, pp. 134, \$1.00.) This little volume is a journal of the travels, observations, and experiences of four English Quakers on an antislavery mission to this country in the winter of 1853-54. Their itinerary included interviews with President Pierce and with twenty-three of the thirty-one governors, and conferences and pious meetings with American Friends, many of whom were acquaintances the Englishmen had made on previous visits. Although debate on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was raging at the time, the four antislavery advocates were cordially and hospitably received by all the slave-state governors whom they visited save Sterling Price of Missouri. Some even expressed sympathy with their views, and Henry Collier of Alabama and Hershel V. Johnson of Georgia both admitted the "peculiar institution" was on the road to extinction. But the four missionaries were blind to the difficulties attendant upon emancipation. Revealing is Candler's dismissal of Horatio Seymour's statesmanly view of the problem with the observation that, "With all his eloquence and all his urbanity, I saw in him the politician who was willing to leave Christianity in abeyance, rather than proceed resolutely to do what is right." As for men and manners Candler thought the families of urban merchants and professional men were as refined and cultured as the upper classes in England; but he was somewhat disparaging of the democracy which gave the common people license "to chew tobacco, to spit before you, to ask questions without limit, to loiter, to drink, and to talk politics." He concludes, however, that "This is a wonderful country" and "bids fair soon to be taller and stronger than its parent."

A. D. KIRWAN, *University of Kentucky*

GAIL BORDEN, DAIRYMAN TO A NATION. By *Joe B. Frantz*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1951, pp. xiii, 310, \$5.00.) The pages of business history are strewn with accounts of trial and error, miscalculation and loss, and of men with an invincible determination to succeed no matter how often they failed. Borden, whose name has become almost synonymous with the dairy industry, was the latter kind of businessman. Joe B. Frantz, the author of this sympathetic account, traces the forebears of Borden to colonial Rhode Island and even to the days of William the Conqueror. Steeped in this Anglo-Saxon tradition, Borden is portrayed as an industrious, enterprising, persevering, religious man. Restless and venturesome, he becomes a part of the westward movement. His family, after leaving New York, settles in Kentucky, helps lay out Covington, and moves on to New London, Indiana, where young Gail grows to manhood only to find the "cold winters and river vapors" unbearable. Departing for fabulous New Orleans in search of health and fortune, the "stooped Yankee" locates temporarily in southwestern Mississippi, where he teaches school, surveys land, and acquires his first wife. Shifting to Texas where his brother Tom is one of Stephen Austin's "Old Three Hundred," Borden emerges as a leading

citizen, helps write the first Texas constitution, founds the first permanent newspaper, and helps lay out Galveston. Unsuccessful, or mildly successful, in several business ventures, he tries his hand at marketing an unpalatable and unsalable meat biscuit before he succeeds in condensing milk, "the most temperamental of foods." His last effort matures during the 1850's when Vanderbilt was making his fortune in shipping, when Wanamaker and countless others were striving to carve their niche in the business world. It was Borden the man with the idea, Milbank the man with the finances, and the Civil War with its demand for food which finally helped insure the eventual success of his business. Horatio Alger probably would have had a difficult time finding a hero whose failures and success fitted in more readily with his "cut-to-order" novels. But what Frantz writes is fact not fiction. Borden is a good representative of that restless, searching, enterprising American who refuses to yield to defeat because he feels he has something to offer. This readable, realistic, and refreshing study should be of value to the student of western, as well as of business, history.

THEODORE SALOUTOS, *University of California, Los Angeles*

AMERICAN CONSERVATIVES: THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF FRANCIS LIEBER AND JOHN W. BURGESS. By *Bernard Edward Brown*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 565.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. 191, \$2.75.) Lieber and Burgess as two influential transmitters to America of German political thought are fitting subjects for a joint study in the history of ideas. Since there was, as the author stated, "no full length treatment with primary focus on either Lieber or Burgess as political theorists," he took upon himself the ambitious task of filling this gap. He also wished to demonstrate through these men the interplay between German philosophy and American politics. In the first of these objectives, the author has succeeded fairly well. His exposition of Lieber's political thought, which he roots in Kantian idealism, is especially full, well organized, and luminous—no small achievement as any reader of the *Political Ethics* and *Civil Liberty* can testify. However, following as it does excellent articles by Charles B. Robson, Merle Curti, and Joseph Dorfman, it is not especially pioneering. The analysis of Burgess' basically Hegelian political philosophy is more significant because so little has been written upon it. It is equally clear, but quite brief. These expositions are also disappointing in that they do little to link the thought of the two men although several ties exist—for example, their common interest, through Bluntschli, in the organic concept of the state. Aside from biographical sketches of the two protagonists, there are only fleeting references to the impact of their ideas upon American politics. Yet there lay the greatest significance of each of these men. An analysis of the influence of Burgess would be particularly of interest, since among his students were two of the major political figures of the twentieth century, Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

FRANK FREIDEL, *University of Illinois*

MR. LINCOLN'S CONTEMPORARIES: AN ALBUM OF PORTRAITS BY MATHEW B. BRADY. By *Roy Meredith*. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951, pp. xii, 233, \$6.00.) If an essential quality of a good picture book is an attractive format, this is not a good one. In appearance *Mr. Lincoln's Contemporaries* resembles a seventh-grade geography book; and, in contrast to the portrait of the author on the dust jacket, the reproductions are only fair. The accompanying text is an impressionistic history of the Civil War era. Fortunately the reviewer of a picture book need not concern himself with the text, though it must be said that in this case there is a good deal too much of it. Nevertheless, a volume of 172 Brady portraits is a welcome supplement to Meredith's earlier volume of Brady's Civil War photographs. Here

is some of the best work of the man before whose lens so many of Lincoln's distinguished contemporaries posed. To be sure, the portraits of this pioneer photographer are uneven in quality, but Brady often did remarkable things with his primitive equipment. No author's prose has yet surpassed Brady's camera in describing the majesty of Winfield Scott, the charm of Harriet Lane, the monolithic aspects of Preston King, the pugnacity of "Parson" Brownlow, the patient humility of Abraham Lincoln, or the self-conscious defiance of a Bloomer Girl. Altogether Mr. Meredith has made excellent selections from the large Brady collection. After studying them all, I think my favorite is the group portrait of Harper and Brothers. My admiration for Brady would increase if I could be sure that he took that picture with tongue in cheek. I would like to think, too, that Mr. Meredith knew what he was doing when he put it in a chapter entitled "The Lighter Side of Life."

KENNETH M. STAMPP, *University of California, Berkeley*

POWELL OF THE COLORADO. By *William Culp Darrah*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. ix, 426, \$6.00.) John Wesley Powell (1834-1902) was one of the most dynamic men ever associated with the federal government. He left his mark not only on government organization but also on science in government and on American science in general. Hence, a full-length biography of him (strangely the first in the half century since his death) should be most welcome on several fronts. Powell's was not an easy biography to write, for the major was a complex, many-faceted personality, but Mr. Darrah has done a very creditable job. Fortunately there was no need to strain to find drama in Powell's life story, for drama was inherent in it. Major Powell's contributions were manifold, and his life divides readily for the biographer into more or less clear-cut periods: (1) his Civil War service (in which he lost an arm at Shiloh); (2) his geographical and geological explorations, most notably his pioneering and now illustrious expeditions down the canyons of the Green and Colorado Rivers; (3) his service with the United States government as geologist and ethnologist; and (4) his late-in-life forays into the realms of philosophy. If the reader is thoroughly impressed by the daring of Powell's Colorado adventures, he is even more impressed by the courage and originality that Powell manifested in later applying the scientific findings of these early excursions. He developed a new concept of the geology of the canyon country, and from this there evolved his classic "Report on the Lands of the Arid Regions of the United States" and his proposals for reformation of the land acts which finally resulted in the establishment of the Bureau of Reclamation. He was responsible for the consolidation of the government's surveys of the western territories into one agency: the Geological Survey, of which he served as second director following Clarence King. He founded, organized, and for its first twenty-three years directed the Bureau of American Ethnology in the Smithsonian Institution and proposed a classification of American Indian languages that has never been superseded. He was the "most outspoken promoter of a broad program of Government research in American history," anticipating the National Science Foundation by three score years by proposing a national department of science, which would have been a centralized administration for all the government's scientific work. He made contributions to social theory and the philosophy of science. He was, indeed, a titan, and Mr. Darrah has succeeded in presenting the full stature of the man in this detailed and well-documented account. The book fills a gap in the history of American science and serves to remind us how much yet remains to be done by scholars in that field.

PAUL H. OEHSER, *Smithsonian Institution*

STEVE MATHER OF THE NATIONAL PARKS. By *Robert Shankland*. With an Introduction by *Gilbert Grosvenor*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1951, pp. viii, 326, \$4.00.) This volume is the only biography of Stephen Tyng Mather (1867-1930), the father of the National Park Service, which today protects a vast domain over 23 million acres, including 116 historical areas pregnant with meaning to the historian as primary source material for the study of our national history. The book presents a sympathetic and competent portrait of that important conservationist and describes the formative years of the National Park movement. Born and educated in California, for a time a reporter on Dana's *New York Sun*, later a wealthy Chicago borax manufacturer, Mather's first and perhaps deepest interest was the 'preservation and enjoyment of superlative scenery in the American wilderness. When, in 1914, he protested about the National Parks, it is said that his friend, Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane, challenged him to come down to Washington and run them himself. Mather accepted, and, for the remaining sixteen years of his life, poured his remarkable abilities and much of his personal fortune into the organization, development, and expansion of the National Park System. The Bureau was established in 1916 and Mather was appointed first director. It was none too soon, for intensified pressures on national resources during World War I were soon threatening to destroy the national park idea as Mather conceived it. Unremitting vigilance largely protected the unspoiled grandeur of Yosemite, Mount Rainier, Glacier, and other areas in this crisis, and Mather's organization gained strength to resist later attempts at exploitation by cattle, lumber, mining, and irrigation interests. Mather's subsequent achievements were many, including the creation of seven new parks, the enlargement of others, the elimination of many harmful private holdings, the building of roads and the blazing of trails, the development of visitor accommodations, and the winning of wide public and congressional support for his program. Above all, Mather's leadership awakened in the people of the nation a new appreciation of the beauties and possibilities of the national parks and the necessity of conserving them for all time. The seeds Mather planted grew under his care and that of others. The national park idea spread to many other countries, and in modified form to many states which established state park systems. In 1950, over 36 million persons benefited from America's heritage of scenery and history preserved in the National Park System. Congressman Louis C. Cramton, at the time of Mather's death, spoke the sentiments of many: "There will never come an end to the good he has done." The author had access to the Mather papers and interviewed many who knew and worked closely with Mather, in particular Horace M. Albright, who helped to establish the National Park Service and succeeded Mather as its director. This biography, though historians will miss footnotes or adequate bibliography, effectively recaptures the life of a significant figure in the history of conservation in this country.

RONALD F. LEE, *Washington, D. C.*

SAILS AND WHALES. By Captain *Harry Allen Chippendale*. With an Introduction by Henry Beetle Hough. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1951, pp. xviii, 232, \$3.00.) This book is in the long line of personal narratives relating to the American whale fishery. Captain Chippendale was born on a whaler at sea, and his childhood was spent on St. Helena, one of the last significant ports at which whalers touched during the declining years of the industry in its nonmechanized phase. He shipped in 1895, when he was sixteen, on the bark *Canton*, on the first of eight voyages that carried him to whaling grounds in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans. In later years Captain Chippendale saw war service with both Canada and the United States; it is the chapters dealing with his adventures as a crew member of whale ships that are

singled out for comment here. Inevitably the book invites comparison with its fore-runners, and such comparisons reveal its essential shortcomings. Captain Chippendale contributes little if anything to an understanding of the whale fishery or life on the ships that is not found in richer detail in such a volume as Browne's *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise* (1846), Davis' *Nimrod of the Sea* (1874), or Bullen's *The Cruise of the Cachalot* (1898). None of these personal narratives systematizes the materials in a complete fashion, but in them the reader is presented with far richer detail which adds up to a more useful picture of the life and times of a whale ship crew member. The Chippendale volume has glossaries of whaling terms and nautical terms, both of which are woefully deficient. In style the book is unpretentious; it cannot compare with the vividness of *Whale Hunt* by Nelson Haley (1948). As an introduction to an understanding of the whale fishery, this book is inadequate. The fact still remains that for adventure and excitement as well as for basic information on American whaling, the reader can better begin with Melville's *Moby Dick*—which, incidentally, was first published exactly a century earlier (1851).

MALCOLM M. WILLEY, *University of Minnesota*

MIRACLE AT KITTY HAWK: THE LETTERS OF WILBUR AND ORVILLE WRIGHT. Edited by *Fred C. Kelly*. (New York, Farrar, Straus and Young, 1951, pp. ix, 482, \$6.00.) Scientists, engineers, and inventors are often criticized, and rightly so, for not providing the historian with the records of their achievements. They usually brush us off by saying, "We are too busy making history; don't expect us to write it too." But here is an exception. The letters (less than six hundred selected from several thousand) which Wilbur and Orville Wright wrote over a period of some fifty-five years, and sympathetically edited by Fred C. Kelly, tell the dramatic story of two typical American boys, sons of a minister, who more than any other half-dozen individuals, brought about the age of aviation. Mr. Kelly hurries over their boyhood letters and brings us quickly to a significant letter written by Wilbur in May, 1899, to the Smithsonian Institution, requesting all available papers, books, or both, relating to the subject of "human flight." The secretary of the Smithsonian, Dr. Samuel P. Langley, was himself experimenting with flying machines, and he readily responded to the request. Meantime, the Wrights were busy building their first glider and devoured every scrap of information they could obtain on the subject of flight. Their letters to the United States Weather Bureau, and replies, led them to Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, where in October, 1900, they made their first experiment with "a soaring machine." They returned there in 1901, 1902, and 1903. And then on that historic day, December 17, 1903, they succeeded in keeping their plane aloft for fifty-nine seconds. They returned to Dayton and kept right on experimenting. By 1905 they were so sure of their success that they offered their invention to the federal government. But the Board of Ordnance and Fortification turned it down. Then began a series of negotiations with foreign governments which resulted in their taking their plane abroad. Meantime, the United States War Department got around to advertising for bids for a machine that would fly; the contract was awarded to the Wright Brothers, February 8, 1908. For the next two or three years the two brothers divided their time about equally between United States and Europe—and be it said to our discredit, the Europeans became air-minded much sooner than did the Americans. The *Letters* that follow tell a dramatic story of the many experiments carried on by the two brothers, both in aviation and in financing and managing a rapidly growing corporation. Just as they reached success, and had accumulated enough to live on comfortably, Wilbur died, May 30, 1912, at the age of forty-five. Both he and his brother had hoped the airplane would make future wars impossible; and, for-

tunately for Wilbur, he was spared seeing the havoc wrought by his invention. His brother Orville, however, accepted a commission as major in the Air Corps, in World War I, in the Reserves. These letters remove the mantle of silence beneath which the Wright Brothers seemed to live and reveal them as warm, eager, often amusing individuals who ushered in a new age in man's attempt to master his environment.

JOHN W. OLIVER, *University of Pittsburgh*

THE DECLINE OF LAISSEZ FAIRE, 1897-1917. By *Harold U. Faulkner*. [Economic History of the United States, Volume VII.] (New York, Rinehart, 1951, pp. xiv, 433, \$4.50.) In the first two decades of the twentieth century profound changes occurred in American economic life. Industry grew in size; the output of manufactured goods was speeded up by mass production and the assembly line; the market for American products was expanded by improved means of transportation and communication; and gigantic trusts were organized in the hope of obtaining larger profits through the elimination of excessive competition. The consolidation movement was also notable in transportation and in the development of labor organizations. As surplus liquid capital in America increased, large investment houses appeared, and financial capitalists began to control the American money market. The rise of finance capitalism was accompanied by a shift of power from the industrialist to financiers and banking houses. A revival of expansionist sentiment launched the United States on the uncharted seas of economic imperialism which significantly changed the pattern of our economic and political relations with the rest of the world. Notwithstanding the fact that this period was on the whole one of general prosperity there was a strong undercurrent of popular discontent and restlessness. The decline of political democracy, the rise of monopolies, the gross inequality of wealth, and the growing domination by big business of politics, religion, and education, alarmed the middle class. Aroused by the muckrakers and cautiously guided by Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, a reform movement swept the nation ostensibly for the purpose of restoring economic opportunity and "free enterprise" by federal and state regulation of industry, transportation, finance, and labor. The author has skillfully traced these significant economic trends. He has written a scholarly, readable, and useful volume for the special student and the teacher. The statistical sections are well interpreted; and there is an agreeable absence from this book of the economic bias of the author. The reviewer believes, however, that the contributions of financial capitalists during some of the panics deserves mention as well as their efforts to suppress competition. The need for confining the account to economic trends has apparently irked the writer, for he is well aware that the "quest for social justice" was to a large extent responsible for the "decline of laissez faire." The author says that he "experienced a real satisfaction in doing this volume." The editors and the author should be well satisfied with the results of his efforts.

REGINALD C. McGRANE, *University of Cincinnati*

ACROSS WORLD FRONTIERS. By *Thomas W. Lamont*. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1951, pp. vii, 278, \$3.50.) Before his death in 1948 Thomas Lamont had written a charming account of his youth, *My Boyhood in a Parsonage*. This volume is a continuation in more sketchy form of his life as a businessman in New York and a distinguished public servant during and immediately following World War I. His son has edited the unfinished manuscript, which leaves still unrecorded twenty-five years of a distinguished career. Mr. Lamont is very casual about the business success that brought him a partnership in J. P. Morgan and Company. He does, however, pay tribute to the Morgans, father and son, and to his associates in the firm who rendered

public service quite unselfishly in World War I. Men like the elder Stettinius deserve even more emphasis. Despite the author's modesty, it is clear that his name led all the rest in this noteworthy group. He reveals, in his fairness to others with conflicting views, his own frank and judicious character. That is especially true of his treatment of Woodrow Wilson, whom he tried vainly to persuade of the unwisdom of certain sections like Article 10 of the Covenant. The Paris negotiations where he was American representative on the Reparations Commission are the major part of these reminiscences. The story is told simply with vignettes of the negotiators, but, in view of what followed, it has the tenseness and poignancy of high tragedy. After Versailles and the defeat of the treaty, the mission to China for the banker's consortium is anticlimax. He brushes lightly over his efforts to save the *New York Post* and the beginnings of the *Saturday Review of Literature*. The gift of an undergraduate library building to Harvard came long after the years covered by this volume. It is fortunate that so much has here been recorded of the career of a businessman who was an enlightened patriot with deep cultural interests and a world outlook. G.S.F.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

A TOWN THAT WENT TO SEA. By *Aubigne Lermond Packard*. (Portland, Maine, Falmouth Publishing House, 1950, pp. viii, 416, \$4.50.) This is a sentimental treatment of one of the more important Maine towns whose prosperity was intimately linked with the wooden ships of the nineteenth century. With the exhaustion of the lumber resources, the development of western limestone deposits and substitutes, the advent of steam and steel ships Thomaston lost the chief bulwarks of its wealth and glory. The book is primarily an attempt to tell the story of Thomaston's rise and fall as a maritime port. Frequently there are excursions into the political and social history of the community but they are not complete or numerous enough. It is when dealing with the sea that the author is at her best. A descendant of seafaring families, she knows the sea and its language and has personal knowledge of much of which she writes. More than half of the book is directly related to the experience and exploits of the ships and men of Thomaston who were as much at home in Liverpool, Callao, Batavia, or Sydney as in any American port. While the sea captains rate full treatment, she does not neglect the role or life of those at the other end of the ladder. How frequently it was a ladder to wealth and glory is amply demonstrated by the life story of many Thomaston men. At several points the author quotes extensively from diaries and letters of Thomaston men and women who sailed before the mast. While the book is interesting and at spots entertaining and is couched in colorful language with a generous mixture of Yankee expression it suffers from a lack of detachment and proportion. A bibliography, footnotes, and an index are lacking. A wider knowledge of American history would have found more reasons for Thomaston's Jeffersonianism than those assigned by the author and would have avoided errors such as Jackson's succession to Monroe, the successful completion of the Atlantic cable in 1855, the French invocation of the alliance following the outbreak of the war with England in 1793. Though the book will have to be used with care Maine needs more persons who can write as well of town history as does A. L. Packard.

ROBERT M. YORK, *University of Maine*

RECOLLECTIONS OF JAMES LENOX AND THE FORMATION OF HIS LIBRARY. By *Henry Stevens*. Revised and Elucidated by *Victor Hugo Paltsits*. (New York, New York Public Library, 1951, pp. xxxvi, 187, \$10.00.) Henry Stevens' *Recollections of James Lenox*, the title of which is an amiable camouflage for a book essentially autobiographical, has been since its publication in 1886 required reading for the collector, especially for the collector concerned with the great books of American history. The edition of 1886 had in itself become a scarce work when Mr. Paltsits, the veteran historian and bibliographer, began to think of the improvement that might be wrought in it through the continuation and documentation of its text. We have before us as a result of these reflections a new edition of the *Recollections* with a biographical introduction, some twenty excellent illustrations, and a series of annotations at the conclusion of each chapter which Mr. Paltsits calls "Elucidations." Through the New York Public Library, the inheritor of the Lenox books, the new

Recollections with its admirable commentary has been issued in a typographical style worthy of its matter. Occasional errors in the original text arising from lapses of memory or from a lack of understanding on the part of the author have been set right by Mr. Paltsits, as have also many allusions obscure to present-day readers. These purely corrective measures, however, are not the chief of his services, for his "Elucidations" concern themselves much less with picking up errors than with the enlargement, enrichment, and fulfillment of the story told by Stevens sixty-five years ago. Throughout those sixty-five years few men in this country or elsewhere have been as deeply and as passionately concerned with books and their meaning to scholar and collector as Mr. Paltsits, former official of the Lenox Library and of the New York Public Library. The significance of the book is that it is an element in American cultural history. It is the story of a great collector, James Lenox, and, more specifically, of a great library builder, Henry Stevens of Vermont. His services as purchasing agent for Peter Force, James Lenox, and John Carter Brown, to mention only those of his clients whose collections are today intact and at work in the public service, entitle Stevens to a place among the remembered booksellers of the world. In 1856 Nathaniel Hawthorne visited him in London and described him in his *Note Books* as a "kindly and pleasant man," engaged in a sort of "book-brokerage," and designating him further as the "American man of Libraries." The Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and the John Carter Brown Library are witnesses to the truth of that half-playful designation. Bookmen of the present generation welcome the new edition of his book, which in Mr. Paltsits' hands has doubled in size and has increased by that much its contribution to the history of book collecting and library building in the United States.

LAWRENCE C. WROTH, *Brown University*

PITTSBURGH'S COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT, 1800-1850. By Catherine Elizabeth Reiser. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1951, pp. viii, 247, \$2.50.) Miss Reiser's volume is packed with evidence of her diligent researches into many aspects of the early commercial and industrial development of Pittsburgh. While her center of interest is the city, the attempt to gauge its commercial activity carries her far down the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, up the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, and over the early turnpikes and later canal systems. If the rich crop of statistical and episodic detail she assembles does not always relate directly to the city's development, students of America's economic history will rejoice to find much new data in several of her chapters. Yet the author's thesis (p. vii), that "Commerce and industry were thus so closely allied in Pittsburgh as to be inseparable . . ." is not well served by her topical organization. Each of the chapters on the several trade arteries stands too much apart—for example, it is not clear how the sudden influx of articles from the east over the Pennsylvania State System after 1835 affected either the industries in Pittsburgh or the trade down the Ohio, or how active Pittsburghers were in its transshipment. Similarly the chapters on "Finance and Credit" and "Attempts at Economic Organization," while full of interesting detail, do not tie in closely with the city's industrial or commercial growth. The first and last chapters outline the economic patterns in 1800 and 1850 respectively, but we get no picture of the interplay of forces in 1817 or 1837 or at any other crucial point in the city's history. If any individual made contributions in more than one field, his importance is lost as we move from one detailed chapter to another; indeed, very little sense of human effort or individual decisions emerges from these closely packed pages. Three illustrations, numerous tables, a good bibliography, and a fair index add to the book's value to interested scholars.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE NEGLECTED THREAD: A JOURNAL FROM THE CALHOUN COMMUNITY, 1836-1842. By Mary E. Moragné. Edited, with Preface and Backgrounds by

Delle Mullen Craven. (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1951, pp. xxxviii, 256, \$5.00.) This volume is the diary of a woman of culture and refinement who lived in the Abbeville district of South Carolina in the time of John C. Calhoun. But the reader will be disappointed who seeks in Mary Moragné's careful notes any interpretation of the politics of her day. The "speech-making propensity of the people" in the campaign of 1840 is to her "actually frightful" and politics holds for her no interest. The neglected thread is her diary in which she weaves as time permits an interesting picture of the social and intellectual life of her family and the little community in which she lived. The years covered are from 1836 to 1842, but most of the entries are after January, 1838. Miss Moragné became a church member at the same time that she began to fall in love with the minister. These events affected her life profoundly. Miss Moragné could not reconcile with her religious professions the writing of fiction and, after a few additional short stories, abandoned the literary career to which the publication in 1838 of her short novel *The British Partizan* would undoubtedly have led her. The diary reflects the thoughts of a sensitive woman who turned from writing to teaching while the poverty of her suitor compelled the postponement of marriage. Miss Moragné escaped from a career of schoolteaching by the improvement in the economic position of the clergyman who became her husband. There is more to the diary than the recital of the daily life of a South Carolina family. The description of a Methodist camp meeting in 1839 (pp. 164-70) is excellent and the hazards of travel (pp. 176-91) are recounted with spirit and imagination. Throughout the work Miss Moragné displays keen observation and the ability to express herself freely and fluently in prose. She writes with detachment about the people with whom she is constantly associated, many of whom are not mirrored to their advantage. Finally, the publication of the diary is fully justified because it sheds light on the life of the up-country section of South Carolina in the ante-bellum days about which too little has been made known. WILLIAM S. CARPENTER, *Princeton University*

HISTORY OF WOFFORD COLLEGE, 1854-1949. By *David Duncan Wallace*, of the Class of 1894. (Nashville, Tenn., Vanderbilt University Press for Wofford College, 1951, pp. 287, \$5.00.) Wofford College had an initial distinction. It was founded by a very rare specimen of the *Homo sapiens*, a rich Methodist minister. He left the pulpit to make money and to save what he made down to the last nickel. He had one object, namely, to leave to the Methodist Church what he made by shaving notes. What his neighbors and his widow thought of him would be variant definitions of skinflint. Now the college he established with a hundred thousand dollars, half for buildings, has found in one of its graduates and faculty members a distinguished historian to write its history, as such a history should be and rarely is written by an alumnus. Professor Wallace has made his volume not only a model of its kind but a contribution to the history of the region on the eve of the Civil War, through that struggle and Reconstruction and the years since. Although not outstanding in these decades, the college has had good teachers and was early one of the few in the South who added a Ph.D. from Germany to its faculty. In the Reconstruction years it sought, but did not win to its staff, outstanding Confederate leaders. The author's candid appraisal of faculty members, some his teachers and others his former colleagues, is one of the unique features of the book. The list of distinguished graduates is rather long, especially of those who have gone on into academic work. It has a claim to distinction in such men as Professor Wallace, J. H. Kirkland, formerly chancellor of Vanderbilt University, Charles Forster Smith, professor of Greek at the University of Wisconsin, Philip Hamer of the National Archives, and Louis B. Wright, director of

the Folger Library. Not a bad record for a small denominational college. This group has been diminished by one, the author, who died on April 29, 1951. G.S.F.

BOURBON DEMOCRACY IN ALABAMA, 1874-1890. By *Allen Johnston Going*. (University, University of Alabama Press, 1951, pp. ix, 256, \$4.00.) Monographs on state history all too frequently deal with dramatic episodes, emotion-charged moments, or controversial issues to the neglect of somber, uneventful periods. Writers on Alabama history have long since exploited slavery, secession, the Civil War, Reconstruction, and progressivism in the state. The undramatic, pedestrian period between the overthrow of radical reconstruction and the rise of a populist-progressive protest has remained without evaluation. Dr. Going, in a sober-sided, even-tempered monograph, essays a review of the period from 1874 to 1890 when the so-called Bourbon Democrats—a stodgy, economy-minded set—ruled the poverty-stricken state. He finds the Bourbons were not wholly conservative but were restrained from progressive legislation by the costs of progress. They maintained themselves in power partly by white supremacy appeals, discriminatory election laws, and extralegal devices for disfranchising Negroes, and partly by avoiding controversial issues. They managed the state institutions with niggard hands, leased convicts to plantations and mines, scaled the debt, and established as few regulating agencies as possible. Dr. Going amply documents the Bourbons' control of finances and debts, their *laissez faire* attitude toward agriculture and industry, and their economy on education and social welfare. In the end he concludes that the Bourbon Democrats "made a contribution in instituting an economical government managed by native Alabamians in whom the public generally had confidence." Dr. Going has performed his task thoroughly and well, but his book makes clear the reason why students of state history prefer to study more exciting subjects. WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE, *University of Wisconsin*

HANGING JUDGE. By *Fred Harvey Harrington*. (Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers, 1951, pp. 204, \$4.00.) This is a scholarly and well-written book that is not only a biography of the now famous Judge Isaac C. Parker but also a graphic portrayal of the taming of the rough and tumble Fort Smith-Indian Territory frontier. As the "Hanging Judge" of the United States Court for the Western District of Arkansas, Parker sentenced to death 164 murderers, although only 79 eventually paid "the final penalty on Hangman Maledon's gallows." The judge also meted out sentences to criminals of other sorts—rapists, liquor peddlers, cow and horse thieves, and swindlers. Professor Harrington gives us a brutally frank, but needfully realistic narrative. Unlike some fiction writers and cinema producers, he presents outlaws, like Bill Doolin, Dan Evans, Cherokee Bill, and John Whittington, as the "refuse of humanity," sadistic, and inhuman brutes, and not as unfortunate Robin Hoods. For example, Belle Starr had "no conscience, . . . no beauty, but was a crude, and ugly nymphomaniac." Other parts of the narrative are equally realistic. In court hearings sordid details were unfolded before vulgar crowds; Judge Parker was grimly unbending, although scrupulously honest in interpreting the law; and his deputy marshals were simple-minded gun-toters, more interested in pay than in adventure. The Fort Smith jail was unsightly; its two cells were often crowded with one hundred or more prisoners and were "reeking hell-holes of filth," wherein washbasins and urinal half-barrels were emptied only twice a day, bedding was vermin-infested, and foul odors of food, sweat, urine, and tobacco juice were intolerably offensive. Still Judge Parker's court hastened the coming of law and order to this frontier. Until appeals were allowed in 1889, its record terrified the criminals; but in later years its rulings were often set aside by the Supreme Court, which pointed up technicalities more than justice, or so thought

Justice R. W. Peckham. Once in a dissenting opinion, he denounced the majority decision as "a sacrifice of justice . . . [to] an unjustifiable presumption of error and entirely at war with the facts." This book is in a pioneer field and is a unique contribution to western history. The author has pointed the way for the doing of other needful studies.

CARL COKE RISTER, *Texas Technological College, Lubbock*

OUR CATHOLIC HERITAGE IN TEXAS, 1519-1936. Volume VI, TRANSITION PERIOD: THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM, 1810-1836. By *Carlos E. Castañeda*. (Austin, Tex., Von Boeckmann-Jones for Knights of Columbus of Texas, 1950, pp. 384, \$7.50.) The sixth volume of Professor Castañeda's monumental work continues the excellent points of its predecessors. Taken as a whole, the series forms a comprehensive history of Texas under Spanish and Mexican rule. Moreover, the volumes serve as a ready and convincing measure of the historical output of Texas during the last half century. The author places the present offering in a "transition period" that really was under way before the close of the eighteenth century. The subtitle of the volume, *The Fight for Freedom, 1810-1836*, covers the revolt both of Mexico from Spain and of Texas from Mexico. Texas lay along the northern border of Mexico, but, as the author points out, the province profoundly influenced the beginnings of the Mexican struggle for independence under Hidalgo and his associates. By its proximity to French Louisiana, it was equally affected by conditions that followed the transfer of that colony to the United States. Thus, influences from both directions during these critical years mark the tumultuous transition of Texas from Spanish to Anglo-American control. Castañeda presents this period in two clearly marked phases. The first, relating to the struggle with Spain, in which the United States and Great Britain were generally on opposite sides, was largely one of irregular operations. Pirates, smugglers, slave-traders, and other groups of outlaws joined with more pretentious devotees of freedom to bring independence to Mexico. Most of these intruders penetrated no further than San Antonio, where their self-proclaimed government speedily collapsed to internal dissension and belated royalist suppression. The years that followed their overthrow witnessed further attempts from the occupants of the nearby "neutral ground" and further afield, of French exiles, to establish themselves in Texas. The last of the filibustering attempts occurred in 1820-21, when Mexico finally became independent. The second and more regular phase of this period deals with the colonization of the Austins and other empresarios of the 1820's. It proved but a part, temporarily disguised, of the persistent American trek to the West. Within fifteen years, in spite of serious efforts on both sides to continue the policy of peaceful penetration, the inevitable break occurred and Texas became an independent republic. The author, whose previous contributions show thorough familiarity with the field, has carefully reviewed and analyzed each phase of it for this new presentation. Not all his readers will accept his every conclusion, but they may rely on his attempt to be fair and impartial. The frontispiece and the concluding chapter are the only conspicuous instances of the churchly purpose that more definitely inspired the publication. A map that fits the period, seven illustrations, a bibliography and index, accompany this elegant and scholarly specimen of Texas press work.

ISAAC J. COX, *Evanston, Illinois*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

YANKEE ELOQUENCE IN THE MIDDLE WEST: THE OHIO LYCEUM, 1850-1870. By *David Mead*. (East Lansing, Michigan State College Press, 1951, pp. viii, 273, \$4.50.) Making use of much fresh evidence drawn from contemporary newspapers, published and manuscript journals and correspondence of the eastern lecturers, this very useful contribution to social and intellectual history gives a history of the popular lyceum system in Ohio and shows the development of cultural taste as registered in the reactions to the lectures. Fifteen chapters are devoted to Emerson, the Transcendental traveler who lectured fifty-six times in Ohio; Henry Giles, the Irish orator from Maine who lectured on topics such as Cervantes; E. P. Whipple, the Elegant Essayist; Herman Melville, the mariner who lectured on "Statues in Rome"; Alcott, the Intoxicated Talker devoted to western progress; G. W. Curtis, who was thought over-elegant and condescending in his criticism of material success; Parke Godwin, the Oracle of Optimism; Wendell Phillips, whose abolition lecture in Cincinnati in 1862 caused a riot; Bayard Taylor, the much appreciated

traveler and voice of Young America; the Catholic Orestes Brownson, who attacked his fellow guest Kossuth as an insurrectionist; H. W. Beecher, boycotted as a profiteer because he charged more than the usual twenty-five cents; Theodore Parker, the Scholarly Divine; O. W. Holmes, who praised Byron and Moore; Park Benjamin, the Platform Poet; and J. G. Saxe, the Green Mountain Wit. A valuable appendix of nearly a hundred closely documented pages surveys the history of Ohio's complex lecture system reflecting the cultural earnestness of the people, and tabulates the Ohio lecture schedules of the fifteen lecturers, with titles, towns, dates, and fees. Dr. Mead's predominantly original work is judicious, meaty, comprehensive, and a model for similar studies which might well be made of the lyceum system in other western states.

HARRY HAYDEN CLARK, *University of Wisconsin*

THE NORTH AMERICAN BUFFALO: A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE SPECIES IN ITS WILD STATE. By *Frank Gilbert Roe*. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1951, pp. viii, 957, \$12.00.) The reader can hardly fail to be impressed by the enormous amount of labor which must have been required to produce this volume. In twenty-two chapters and thirty-four appendixes all phases of buffalo history are discussed in great detail. The numbers and distribution of these animals, the regular and irregular migrations of the herds, their habits, the agencies other than man that were destructive to the buffalo, and the effects of a buffalo environment upon Indian mentality are but a few of the topics treated. The author apparently feels that far too little scientific work has been done on the American bison. Moreover, he is frankly critical of most of the earlier writers who have made a study of the subject and is quite skeptical as to the validity of many of their statements and conclusions. He doubts that the buffalo migrated regularly north or south in the spring and autumn but believes that such migrations were more or less irregular without too much regard to direction or seasons. He feels also that charges against the Indians of the wasteful slaughter of these animals are largely unjustified. The author's style is a bit heavy since evidence is piled on evidence with respect to disputed questions. Citations and footnotes are voluminous, often occupying half the page or more. Some of the appendixes are useful but others dealing with Indian cannibalism, night attacks, nomenclature, and anti-Indian propaganda seem unnecessary. In fact it will seem to many readers that the number of words used is excessive and the proper deletion of some one third of them would result in a better and more readable volume. Nevertheless, this is by far the most comprehensive and scientific study of the buffalo yet published or likely to be published at any time in the near future. It gives a wealth of information on both the buffalo and the western Indians and will be welcomed by all persons seriously interested in these subjects.

EDWARD EVERETT DALE, *University of Oklahoma*

CAMELS TO CALIFORNIA: A CHAPTER IN WESTERN TRANSPORTATION. By *Harlan D. Fowler*. (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1950, pp. xi, 93. \$3.50.) The mid-nineteenth-century experiment of bringing camels from Egypt and Syria to the United States for military service in the Southwest has attracted the interest of many readers of western history, and legends of camels still surviving in the deserts of Arizona and Nevada have become established in the folklore of the West. Although the primary sources on the history of the episode have long been in print and easily available, important manuscript sources have been edited in scholarly fashion and published, and solid articles on the subject have appeared in historical journals, there has not hitherto been an account of book length which attempted to treat the camel experiment in a single narrative of a somewhat popular nature.

This has been the aim of Harlan D. Fowler in this the seventh volume in the "Stanford Transportation Series." The book carries the story from the inception of the idea that camels might well be used to transport military freight in the arid regions of the Southwest in the 1840's, through the purchase of camels by a special expedition to the Mediterranean in 1855-1856, their use in Texas and California, to the sale and dispersal of the animals in 1864. Fowler also mentions other attempts to bring camels to the West, and says something of the legends which have grown and flourished in the years since the experiment. It is clear from the record presented that camels were well suited to the business for which they were brought to America but that problems of managing and caring for them, the disruption of military administration by the Civil War, and the development of rail transportation combined to keep their use from becoming more than an experiment. Mr. Fowler, a retired aeronautical engineer, has brought real enthusiasm to his work, and the book has more the character of a labor of love than a scholarly exercise. He has worked carefully from the printed sources but has apparently not used any new materials. Often over-close paraphrasing of the sources produces an uneven style and detracts from the literary quality of the book. There are but few slips in statements of fact and in spelling. The book is attractively produced. It has eighteen illustrations from contemporary lithographs and photographs, and a rough sketch-map of the Southwest in the end papers. A brief bibliographical note follows the text. Although it is not an important scholarly contribution, this is a pleasant little book which conveniently and entertainingly sums up a significant episode in the history of military affairs and transportation in the Southwest.

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE, *Pomona College*

MILITARY LIFE IN DAKOTA: THE JOURNAL OF PHILIPPE RÉGIS DE TROBRIAND. Translated and Edited from the French Original by *Lucile M. Kane*. [The Clarence Walworth Alvord Memorial Commission of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Publication II.] (St. Paul, Minn., the Commission, 1951, pp. xxv, 395, \$7.50.) This second volume of the Alvord Memorial Commission is a full and complete translation of Philippe Régis De Trobriand's manuscript, *Vie militaire dans le Dakota*. Lucile M. Kane has improved on the selections from the published journal issued in 1941 by translating the complete diary from the original French manuscript. Her work is not only exact and careful, but an editor's introduction which she attaches to the journal is almost a model of such necessities, brief and penetrating. The journal itself is an important series of personal impressions recorded by the military commander of the middle district of the Department of Dakota during his tour of duty from midsummer of 1867 through April, 1868. Philippe De Trobriand, French cosmopolite, traveler, artist, and journalist, had served in the Union forces during the Civil War and was breveted major general. After Appomattox he was appointed colonel of the regular army with the thirty-first infantry. His first assignment was to Fort Stevenson, where he recorded his impressions in prose and sketches of the American West, Dakota countryside, and the Sioux frontier. The dominant quality of the journal is the impact of the American frontier on a keen European mind. By experience, talent, and inclination Colonel De Trobriand was capable of viewing the full content of the frontier both sympathetically and objectively. The format of the book could have been improved by placing the author's original topic headings in the margin. In bold face type they would not only have relieved the impression of monotony given by the book but also have served as convenient and strategic spot references. A good bibliography and index are subjoined. The publication by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association of such documentary sources as this journal, and its earlier collection of Northwest

missionary papers (edited by Grace Lee Nute), is a real contribution to American history. It is to be hoped that further volumes may soon be possible.

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Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham¹

GENERAL

NOTÍCIA DE VÁRIA HISTORIA. By José Honório Rodrigues. (Rio de Janeiro, Livraria São José, 1951, pp. 243.) Brazilian historians, like their Spanish-American colleagues, often publish voluminously in magazines and newspapers and then compile their articles into a volume. Ordinarily, such compilations are not reviewed here, although they do preserve and make available writings that otherwise would remain almost inaccessible and indeed ephemeral. But I make an exception for Dr. Rodrigues' little volume, because he is practically the only scholar in Brazil who is writing on historiography and historical method. Here he presents several studies on themes of the interpretation of economic history and then includes two papers on historiography in Brazil in 1945 and 1946. His two studies on historiography in Pernambuco and Ceará are descriptions and analyses of the reviews of the historical institutes of those two states. In addition, he has short notes on two contemporary Brazilian historians, Rodolfo Garcia and Afonso Taunay. ALEXANDER MARCHANT, *Vanderbilt University*

A periodical new to this list is: *Historia Mexicana*, a quarterly published by the Colegio de México (México, D.F.), I, no. 1, July-Sept., 1951.

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ENVOY TO CARACAS: THE STORY OF JOHN G. A. WILLIAMSON, NINETEENTH-CENTURY DIPLOMAT. By Jane Lucas de Grummond. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1951, pp. xx, 228, \$3.75.) Williamson kept a journal, excerpts from which (1835-1840) are published here, together with introductory and concluding comment by the editor-author, who shows a zest for detail and atmosphere which should serve her in good stead in further and more intensive studies of the period and area dealt with in *Envoy to Caracas*. Primary interest attaches to the picture thus presented of a Jacksonian diplomat: anglophobe, nationalist, a strong believer in the principles of 1776, and an equally strong supporter of the slave system. Further, this first American to be accredited as envoy to the Venezuelan Republic also exhibits a powerful urge toward personal financial advancement, a good deal of vanity, an interest in gossip, and a keen desire to fulfill his duties (the negotiation of a commercial convention and the presentation of claims) to the advantage of his country. Readers interested in Latin America will also find here an acid running commentary on Venezuelan politics, society, and morals. (The acid may in part have been provided by the difficulties this Carolina gentleman faced in the person of a petulant and frivolous wife, a one-time Philadelphia belle.) These commentaries reveal both Williamson's own prejudices and certain facts of life frequently glossed over. Mrs. de Grummond is obviously interested in this picture of the local scene, to which she has added, occasionally, from other sources, and from knowledge gained

in a visit to Venezuela. To do him justice, it must be admitted that this diplomat was equally caustic in his remarks about the foreigners in Caracas, whom he regarded in the main as a lot of dubious characters. Williamson died at his post in 1840. A minor contribution to historical literature, this volume shows evidence of careful editorial work, is attractively printed, and concludes with a "Note on Authorities" and a ten-page index.

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

The attention of the members is called to the fact that the committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund will finance the publication of books of mature scholarship which make a distinct contribution to knowledge in any field of history. Ordinarily doctoral dissertations or works of more than one volume will not be considered. Manuscripts must be submitted to the chairman, Professor Ray A. Billington, c/o Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino 15, California, before April 1, 1952.

The office of the Association has a considerable number of reprints of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Manuscripts, published in the *Annual Report* for 1950. These are available on request as long as the supply lasts.

Miss Beatrice F. Hyslop is the chairman of the committee on nominations for 1952. On behalf of the committee Miss Hyslop will welcome suggestions from members to fill the offices of vice president, two members of the Council, and two members of the nominating committee. An early response will be most helpful to the committee. Suggestions should be sent to Miss Beatrice F. Hyslop, Reid Hall, 4 rue de Chevreuse, Paris VI, France.

Other Historical Activities

The American Academy of Arts and Letters has deposited its valuable collection of more than four hundred manuscripts in the Library of Congress, in order to provide wider use of the material by scholars. Many of the manuscripts were assembled by or addressed to Courtlandt Palmer of New York City, founder and president until his death, in 1888, of that interesting and fashionable debating society known as the Nineteenth Century Club. Another large part of the collection was brought together for use as illustrative material in a volume to celebrate the centenary of the birth of Edmund Clarence Stedman. The manuscripts are mainly of nineteenth-century origin and include documents written by American and European public figures, writers, artists, composers, scientists, and inventors. An almost complete set of letters of the presidents of the United States includes unpublished manuscripts of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. Other pieces of unusual interest are letters by John Keats, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Edgar Allan Poe, Jonathan Edwards, Richard Watts, and Sam Houston, and a volume of Charlotte Cushman's diary (1844).

The papers of Henry D. Flood, congressman from Virginia from 1901 to 1921, long-time member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House and its

chairman in the critical years before and during World War I, have been presented to the Library by Mrs. Flood and her son, Mr. Bolling Byrd Flood. Preliminary processing of the collection, which contains about 31,000 pieces, is approaching completion. The Naval Historical Foundation has added to its collection deposited in the Library a small group of papers of Admiral Hilary P. Jones, commander-in-chief of the Atlantic Fleet (1921-22) and of the United States Fleet (1922-23). Covering the period from 1920 to 1937, they consist of letters, orders, and miscellaneous records of Admiral Jones, and include a file concerned with the disarmament conferences he attended.

An interesting Civil War diary and field notebook, kept by General Cyrus B. Comstock during his service as engineer with the Army of the Potomac, has been presented to the Library by the general's niece, Dr. Elizabeth Comstock. The pocket-size volume contains scattered entries for the years 1862 and 1863, and drawings and sketches of the defenses at Harper's Ferry and of fords on the Rapidan and Rappahannock rivers. Other acquisitions of Civil War material include a holograph letter of General Robert E. Lee, January 10, 1865, in which he requested General John C. Breckinridge to use all available forces to round up deserters; thirteen miscellaneous documents addressed to President Lincoln; and about 170 unpublished telegrams dated from January to March, 1862, which are wholly or partly in the writing of General H. W. Halleck and are evidently the copies he sent to the telegraph office for transmittal.

Other items of special interest are nineteen manuscripts by members of the Continental Congress, including letters which deal with work done in committees and several accounts of money due for service in Congress; the original of an advertisement for the *National Intelligencer* concerning the sale of Thomas Jefferson's third and last library, signed by auctioneer Nathaniel P. Poor on February 24, 1829; and the original typescript, the author's first and second proofs, and the plate proof of Earl Schenck Miers' biography of William Tecumseh Sherman, *The General Who Marched to Hell*, which were received as a gift from Mr. Miers.

The library of the University of Rochester has received the papers of William Henry Seward. This valuable collection is described in the autumn number (1951) of the *Bulletin* of the library.

The photographic service of the Margaret I. King Library, University of Kentucky, has completed filming the group of records of the Shaker colonies in Kentucky which are the property of the Western Reserve Historical Society. There are twelve reels of film, and positive copies are available for purchase. Further information may be obtained by writing to the Photographic Service, Margaret I. King Library, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

An American collector, André de Coppet, has recently acquired records of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands. Bound in chronological

order in seventy-six folio volumes, they make up the total of all surviving records of the Canariote Inquisition with the exception of one MS. (Egerton 1512) preserved in the British Museum. Mr. de Coppet has engaged Ursula S. Lamb to do preliminary exploratory work in the collection from a historical point of view. The papers are at present temporarily housed in the Ashley Felton Memorial Library at Stanford University.

The Department of State has deposited in the National Archives approximately 100,000 frames of microfilms of documents of the old German Foreign Office. They cover the period from August, 1914, to November, 1918. While not presenting a complete documentation of German foreign policy during the First World War, they contain some of the principal political files and offer large opportunities for research. These files are open to qualified scholars, and photostats of documents can be purchased. The Department expects that additional microfilms for the years 1914-1918 will later be released. The British Foreign Office has made a similar release of these German documents to the Public Record Office in London.

One of the main purposes of the National Archives is to make the permanent records of the federal government deposited in the Archives Building as useful as possible for scholarly research. Unnecessary restrictions on access to the records would obviously defeat this purpose, and therefore it has been the declared policy of the Archivist since 1946 to make all records in his charge accessible to qualified private researchers so far as this can be done without damage to the public interest or infringement of the rights and personal privacy of individuals who come in contact with the government. As a result of this policy most of the records in the National Archives may be freely consulted by any person having a serious research interest in them. Nearly 75 per cent of the total volume of records in the National Archives are thus open to the public.

All persons using records in the National Archives are, of course, subject to the restraints of certain statutes and orders designed to prevent the unauthorized removal, mutilation, or destruction of records, to the laws of libel and slander, to the Espionage Act and related laws pertaining to national defense, and to other general laws affecting the inspection of records and the publication of them or of information obtained from them. One restrictive law of fairly broad application with respect to recent records is the Federal Reports Act of 1942 (56 Stat. 1078), which forbids the release of information given to the government in confidence by private business concerns. Among the records of World War II, moreover, are many documents that were classified top secret, secret, confidential, or restricted for reasons of national security and that have not yet been declassified. The use of these documents in the National Archives is still governed by their original classification, although efforts are made to have them downgraded by the

originating agencies when they are required for research purposes and the content does not appear to justify a continuation of the security classification.

In addition to the above described restrictions of general applicability, there are special restrictions that apply to particular record groups. These special restrictions, affecting about 25 per cent of the records in the National Archives, are of various kinds and degrees. They apply chiefly to records of comparatively recent date, and some are of such a nature that they do not seriously hamper scholarly investigation. Thus the restriction on the use of hospital record jackets of individual patients at naval hospitals of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery permits "accredited research scholars for scientific studies" to have access to the records provided that the data they use are not identified with the names of former patients in the hospitals. Many special restrictions (as in the case of the population census schedules) merely restate in substance the general restriction upon the release of information given in confidence to the government. Income tax returns and accompanying papers are subject to specific restrictions imposed by Congress and may be used only by permission of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Records relating to claims filed with the Veterans' Administration or its predecessors are "deemed confidential and privileged" to the extent that no disclosure may be made of any information contained in them that would be detrimental to the veteran or to his memory or clearly prejudicial to the interests of a living person or of the government.

Some of the special restrictions have been imposed under the terms of the National Archives Act of 1934 and amending legislation by the transferring agencies as conditions of transfer. Some have been imposed by the Archivist at the request of the transferring agencies or of other agencies immediately concerned. In no case, however, have restrictions been carelessly imposed; and it has been the consistent practice of the National Archives in accepting records to scrutinize critically all restrictions imposed by administrative authority and to stipulate for their removal or relaxation at the earliest possible date. In some cases the National Archives has refused to accept records until the restrictions on them have been lifted; and where records already accessioned have been found to be unnecessarily restricted, the agencies have been urged to lift the restrictions.

A means of diminishing the impediment of restrictions in the interest of historical research has been afforded by the Federal Records Act of 1950, which provides "That statutory and other restrictions . . . shall not remain in force or effect after the records have been in existence for fifty years unless the Administrator [of General Services] by order shall determine with respect to specific bodies of records that such restrictions shall remain in force and effect for a longer period." This statutory authority of the Administrator has been delegated to the Archivist of the United States; and the Archivist, in carrying it out, has called upon all agencies whose records in the National Archives would otherwise come under the proviso to reconsider existing restrictions and present fresh

justifications for their continuance. Restrictions have been expressly extended beyond the fifty-year limitation with respect to two classes of records: (1) certificates of arrival, declarations of intention, certificates of naturalization, and certificates of citizenship—all of which continue to be subject to the restriction that forbids their reproduction except in accordance with the authority granted to the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization or a deputy commissioner in section 341 of the Nationality Act of 1940 (54 Stat. 1137); and (2) material protected by subsisting copyright, which may not be used by any person without the written permission of the copyright owner except insofar as its use is authorized by law.

Before the enactment of the Federal Records Act of 1950 several agencies had agreed to accept the automatic removal of restrictions on their records after the lapse of a stated period of time. Thus the Department of Justice had agreed to a period of forty years for most of its transferred records, and the Department of State had provided that its records in the National Archives (with certain specified exceptions) should be opened after twenty-five years.

A detailed statement of the special restrictions applicable to particular record groups is contained as Appendix B, in the *Guide to the Records in the National Archives* (Washington, 1948), pp. 592-610. Inquiries about restrictions on particular records should be directed to the Chief, General Reference Section, National Archives, Washington 25, D.C.

The Union of South Africa is reaching far afield to fill gaps in its state archives. The Union government recently appointed three archivists to conduct research abroad into sources of historical material related to the history of South Africa toward the close of the last century, with special reference to the South African War period, 1899-1902. Where such historical material is uncovered it is proposed, with the consent of the authorities concerned, to microfilm or otherwise copy printed documents, manuscripts, etc., for preservation in South Africa's own archives. Dr. C. F. J. Muller, of the University of South Africa, has arrived in Washington, D.C., to locate as far as possible sources of historical information in the United States on South Africa. He would welcome any information which might lead to the location of material of direct or indirect importance to the history of South Africa in private possession or in the archives or libraries of institutions or organizations such as missionary societies, engineering and trading concerns, etc. Dr. Muller may be reached at the South African Embassy, Office of the Press Attaché, 817 Dupont Circle Building, Washington, D.C.

The desire of a number of historians to stimulate research in the field of the Reformation in this country and to help German scholars of the period resume their activities led to the formation of the American Society for Reformation Research. This society was formed by a group of historians who met at Valparaiso

University August 29-30, 1946, at the invitation of Professor Ernest G. Schwiebert. At its annual meeting in Boston December 30, 1949, the society decided to co-operate with the German Verein für Reformationsgeschichte to revive its *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* as an international journal. The first two issues of Volume XLII (1951) were published together by the C. Bertelsmann Verlag of Gütersloh, Germany, in September, 1951. The articles will normally be in German and English, but with occasional contributions from Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Switzerland, France, and Italy. In any case, summaries in English will accompany non-English articles. The editors for Germany are Gerhard Ritter of the University of Freiburg i. Br. and Heinrich Bornkamm of the University of Heidelberg; for the United States, Harold J. Grimm of the Ohio State University and Roland H. Bainton of the Yale Divinity School. The board of editors will later be enlarged to include editors from other countries. The publication appears semiannually, each volume consisting of 288 pages. The price is \$4.00 to members of the American Society for Reformation Research and \$5.00 to nonmembers. American subscribers are asked to send their money to Professor George W. Forell, St. Peter, Minnesota. Articles in the *Archiv* will be listed in the appropriate bibliographical section in the *Review*.

Past and Present: A Journal of Scientific and Rationalist History is the title of a new periodical soon to appear in England. The editor is John Morris of University College, London, and the editorial board includes such prominent English scholars as G. Barraclough, R. R. Betts, V. G. Childe, M. H. Dobb, J. E. C. Hill, R. H. Hilton, A. H. M. Jones, and R. Wittkower. Advisers and collaborators include scholars from various other countries, among them the United States. According to the prospectus, ". . . The articles will be addressed to those who believe that the pattern of these [social] changes can be understood. We want to encourage scientific and rationalist enquiry, by research, teaching and discussion, into the activities and occupations of men. We shall not limit ourselves to European men. We shall direct attention to historical problems whose discussion is likely to advance our understanding of how men change society. We shall criticise irrationalism in historical work; we shall warn against the dangers of mechanically applying techniques proper to the natural sciences to the complexities of human evolution." The journal will at first be published twice a year, and the first number, it is hoped, will appear early in 1952. The price will be 9s. per issue or 15s. per annum for two issues, payable in advance. Subscriptions should be sent to the Editor at University College, Gower Street, London W.C.1.

With the aid of a recent foundation grant, the Center for Research on World Political Institutions in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs of Princeton University has undertaken a three-year interdisciplinary, but

mainly historical, study of certain cases of political integration and disintegration. Professor Dana G. Munro, director of the school, and Professor Richard W. Van Wagenen, director of the center, have announced the appointment of two historians who will form part of the group which will undertake this study: Dr. Maurice duP. Lee, formerly instructor in the department of history at Princeton, and Mr. Francis L. Loewenheim, who recently completed his doctorate work at Columbia University. During the 1950-51 academic year Professors Richard C. Snyder and Edgar S. Furniss, Jr., served as staff associates in a consulting capacity to the center.

In September, 1951, the University of Minnesota inaugurated a program of basic training for intelligence research on the graduate level. Graduate students in area studies, international relations, and the various social science fields may combine their work for the M.A. or Ph.D. with registration in the intelligence research program. This program aims at providing qualified personnel for civilian and military posts in intelligence research. Foreign language competency, research skill, and area specialization will be stressed. Although this is essentially a two-year program, it might be completed by an advanced student in one academic year. The faculty adviser is Professor Tom B. Jones of the department of history.

To encourage creative scholarship in the field of English civilization for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 1500 to 1700, and to encourage the study of the literature, drama, and theater, especially that dealing with Shakespeare, in the early period as well as later, the Folger Library has announced two prizes of \$1,000 each for the two best book-length manuscripts submitted for publication. One requirement is that a substantial portion of the research upon the books submitted must have been carried on in the Folger Library. One prize will be offered for the best manuscript of a book submitted in the history of English civilization in the period between 1500 and 1700. Books dealing with any aspect of the cultural history of this period will be eligible. Manuscripts in the history contest should be sent to the director of the Folger Library, Washington 3, D.C., not later than October 1, 1953. The other prize will be offered for the best manuscript of a book in the field of English literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or in the history of the English drama and theater of the eighteenth century, or in the interpretation of Shakespeare, and the history of his reputation and the performance of his plays in any period. Manuscripts in this contest should be sent to the director of the Folger Library not later than October 1, 1954. Judges of the contest will be the president of Amherst College, *ex officio*, the director of the Folger Library, *ex officio*, and a committee to be chosen by the library authorities. The Folger Library will also reserve the right to publish the book submitted if it so desires, but it will not necessarily guarantee publication.

The American Numismatic Society offers ten grants-in-aid for study in a

seminar in numismatics to be held at its museum, June through August, 1952. These grants will be available to students of high competence who will have completed one year's graduate study in classics, archaeology, Oriental languages, history, economics, art, or other humanistic fields. Each study-grant will carry a stipend of \$500 plus some allowance for travel expenses to New York. This offer is restricted to students in United States and Canadian universities. Further information and application forms may be obtained from the office of the Society, Broadway between 155th and 156th Streets, New York 32. Completed applications must be filed by April 1, 1952.

Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 501 Madison Avenue, New York 22, announces the inauguration of the Charles Austin Beard Memorial Prize. "This prize, intended to honor a great American, comprising five hundred dollars in cash and a contract for volume publication on terms set forth in the entry blank, will be offered in even years for a work in political science and in odd years for a work in American history. Any citizen of the United States not over forty years of age at the time of the closing date for entries will be eligible." Manuscripts must be in the publisher's hands complete and ready for the printer no later than July 31 of each year.

The recently organized New York State Association of European Historians held its first annual meeting at Colgate University on October 12-13, 1951. The meeting was attended by fifty-five persons who represented twenty-five institutions of central and northern New York. The program included three panel discussions dealing with the Munich Pact, Russo-American relations, and the teaching of survey courses in European history. Carlton J. H. Hayes, formerly of Columbia University, was the guest speaker at the concluding dinner. Officers elected for the year 1951-52 are: Andreas Dorpalen, St. Lawrence University, president; Edgar B. Graves, Hamilton College, vice-president; Karl H. Dannenfeldt, Elmira College, secretary-treasurer; Evelyn M. Acomb, New Paltz State Teachers College; and Julian Park, University of Buffalo.

Carl Bridenbaugh, professor of history in the University of California, Berkeley, delivered the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History at Louisiana State University on November 5 and 6. His subject was "Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South."

At the national convention of the Pi Gamma Mu National Social Science Honor Society held in Washington June 15-16, 1951, W. Leon Godshall, professor of international relations in Lehigh University, was elected president and Paul J. Fitzpatrick, dean of the graduate school of social science in the Catholic University of America, was elected secretary-treasurer.

With the October number, the *South Atlantic Quarterly* completed fifty years of its existence. To celebrate the event the present editor, William T. Laprade, and the Duke University Press have prepared an anthology of articles from the *Quarterly*, entitled *Fifty Years of the South Atlantic Quarterly* (\$5.00, 20 per cent discount to teachers).

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

John E. Pomfret, formerly president of the College of William and Mary, has been named director of the Huntington Library. He began his services November 1.

Shepard B. Clough of Columbia University is teaching this year at the Institut d'Etudes politiques in Paris and at Grenoble University.

Harold Zink has returned to his position as professor of history at Ohio State University after serving for fifteen months as Chief Historian, Historical Division, Office of the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany. He has been succeeded by Professor Roger H. Wells of Bryn Mawr College. Other members of the professional staff are Hubert G. Schmidt, Guy A. Lee, Rodney Loehr, and J. F. J. Gillen.

Robert H. Land, formerly librarian of the College of William and Mary, has been appointed assistant chief of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress.

T. Daniel Shumate has been appointed instructor in history in the University of Alabama.

Adam Afzelius, professor of history in the University of Aarhus, Denmark, is serving as visiting professor in ancient history at the University of California, Berkeley, during the current academic year. Dr. Afzelius was awarded a grant by the Department of State, in co-operation with the University of California, under the United States government's Information and Educational Exchange Program.

W. Turrentine Jackson, formerly of the University of Chicago, has accepted appointment as assistant professor of history in the University of California at Davis.

Oliver H. Radkey of the University of Texas is a visiting professor in the University of Cincinnati during the current year. Miriam B. Urban, professor of

history in the University of Cincinnati, is on leave of absence for the academic year. Hilmar C. Krueger, associate professor of history in the same institution, has received a Fulbright award and is on leave for the current year to continue his study of notarial records in Genoa.

Alan K. Manchester, professor of history in Duke University, has accepted a one-year appointment as cultural affairs officer in the United States embassy in Rio de Janeiro. Also in Duke University, John S. Curtiss has been promoted to professor of history, Arthur B. Ferguson, Harold T. Parker, and Richard L. Watson, Jr., to associate professors, and Irving B. Holley to assistant professor.

At Emory University James Z. Rabun has been promoted to associate professor of history and Roy Watson Curry has been appointed instructor.

The department of history of the University of Illinois announces the promotions of Arthur E. Bestor to professor, and Nelson Norman and Robert M. Sutton to assistant professors.

George H. Jones has been appointed assistant professor of history in Indiana University.

W. R. Livingston, professor of history in the State University of Iowa, has been granted a leave of absence.

A. A. Skerpan has been promoted from assistant professor to a full professorship at Kent State University.

Carey B. Joynt has been appointed assistant professor of international relations in Lehigh University.

Loring B. Priest has been promoted to professor of history in Lycoming College, Williamsport, Pennsylvania, where he is director of the social science division.

Culver H. Smith, chairman of the department of history in the University of Chattanooga, and Howard Braverman, formerly of Long Island University, are this year in Germany teaching in the European extension program of the University of Maryland.

The department of history of Michigan State College announces the appointment of Arthur E. Adams as assistant professor. He will teach courses in Russian and Near Eastern history. Madison Kuhn has been promoted to professor of history and Robert E. Brown to associate professor in the same institution.

William A. Dabney has been appointed assistant professor of history in the University of New Mexico.

David Hecht, formerly of Bowdoin College, is now lecturer in history in the School of General Studies of the City College of New York.

Louise Alexander is serving as acting head of the department of history of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina for 1951-52. John Cairns has been appointed instructor in history and Franklin D. Parker, assistant professor, in the Woman's College. They replace John Beeler and Lawrence Graves, who are on military leave for the academic year.

At North Carolina State College, Stuart Noblin has been promoted to the rank of associate professor, and Charles F. Kolb and Marvin L. Brown, Jr., have been promoted to the rank of assistant professor.

Ray A. Billington of Northwestern University has been granted leave for the winter and spring quarters of the current academic year which he plans to spend doing research at the Huntington Library.

Robert W. Smith, associate professor of history in Oregon State College, is spending his sabbatical year traveling and studying in South America. Robert Tyler is taking his place for the year. Herbert D. Carlin has been appointed assistant professor of history at Oregon State.

John D. Davies, formerly of the University of Minnesota, has gone to Smith College as assistant professor of history.

Frank Hall Gafford, professor of history at North Texas State College, Denton, has been appointed director of the department of history in the college.

Edward Younger of the University of Virginia has received a grant from the Richmond Area University Center for his study of the internal workings of the Confederate War Department. Also in the University of Virginia William E. Stokes, Jr., has been appointed instructor in history and Henry Reck and Albert Woodruff have been appointed part-time instructors. Oron J. Hale has been granted an extension of his leave from the university and will serve for an additional year as Deputy Land Commissioner of Bavaria.

West Virginia University announces the promotion of Sara R. Smith to associate professor of history.

At Whittier College Harry W. Nerhood has been promoted to professor of history and Alexander De Conde to associate professor.

Kenneth V. Lottick is now teaching American history and principles of geography at Willamette University in addition to serving as director of teacher education.

In the department of history of the University of Wisconsin Eugene P. Boardman, Paul Farmer, and Robert L. Reynolds have returned from research leave. Gaines Post is in France on a Fulbright grant for the current academic year. Fred Harrington was on leave the first semester, and William B. Hesseltine will be on leave during the second semester and summer of 1952. Clifton P. Kroeber has joined the department and is offering courses in Latin-American and Spanish history. Bjarne Berulsen of the University of Oslo has taken over some of the courses in the Scandinavian-area studies usually given by Einar Haugen, chairman of the division, who is on leave of absence for study in the University of Oslo until the summer of 1952.

RECENT DEATHS

When the American Historical Association returned to the custom of electing foreign honorary members, almost the first name agreed upon by the special committee was that of Rafael Altamira, the distinguished historian of Spain. It is with profound regret that we chronicle his death June 1 in Mexico City. Professor Altamira had left his native land in 1944. He found in Mexico a freer atmosphere and a warm welcome. Here he continued the steady stream of scholarly studies in law and history that had made him, while a professor at the University of Oviedo, the outstanding representative of Spanish scholarship. His *Historia de España y de civilización española* still towers over any other work in its field. The bibliography of his numerous publications in law and history is itself a volume which had a second edition in 1945 and would now be outdated by the production of the last six years. His helpfulness while still in Oviedo to all visiting scholars, especially those from the Americas, made him a world citizen before he left his home. His character, his high standards of justice, and his knowledge of law made him one of the distinguished members of the Court of International Justice at The Hague. Born February 10, 1866, he was in his eighty-sixth year when he died, busily engaged with plans for more articles and more books.

Nelson Vance Russell, president of Carroll College, Waukesha, Wisconsin, died October 12 at the age of fifty-six. Mr. Russell was a graduate of the University of Michigan, from which institution he also received his doctorate in 1925. He had a varied career as teacher of history in secondary school and college positions. In 1935-38, between his professorships at Coe College and Carleton College, he served on the staff of the National Archives. He was the author of *The British Regime in Michigan and the Old Northwest, 1760-96*. He served in the historical division of the chemical warfare service in 1944. He assumed the presidency of Carroll College in 1946.

Edward Henry Zabriskie, professor of history in the Newark College of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, died on July 30 at the age of fifty-nine years. Dr. Zabriskie had served Rutgers as instructor in history (1924-26) and since 1927 as associate professor of history and international relations and professor of history.

Waldo Emerson Palmer, professor of history in Simmons College, died on July 14 at the age of fifty-one years. Dr. Palmer had taught in Phillips Academy, the Katharine Gibbs School (Boston), and Wellesley College before going to Simmons in 1929.

John G. Hazam, assistant professor of history in the College of the City of New York, died on June 19 at the age of fifty years. Dr. Hazam had taught at Yale and Stanford universities, the universities of California and Oregon, and Lake Forest College, before going to City College in 1935.

Ambrose White Vernon, professor emeritus of biography in Dartmouth College, died August 23 in his eightieth year. He had previously (1919-24) developed the course in biography while on the staff of Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota.

Frederick S. Crofts, retired publisher, died on September 16 at the age of sixty-eight. Before starting his own firm, F. S. Crofts Publishing Company, he was in charge of the college book section of Harper and Brothers. With the onset of ill health he sold his business to the present firm of Appleton-Century-Crofts. As a bookman he was known and welcome on college campuses throughout the country, where many will regret the passing of "Freddie" Crofts. He had long been a member of this Association.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Engel-Janosi's review of my study *The Multinational Empire, Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848-1918* (*AHR*, April, 1951, p. 568) raises a number of points which require clarification and correction. Strict limitations of space force me to touch upon only the most important issues in the briefest way.

Both volumes of my study deal with one major issue, the national problem, though from different angles. Volume I, *Empire and Nationalities*, discusses the national claims of the various national groups from the standpoint of their true or alleged national interests. Volume II, *Empire Reform*, chiefly analyzes significant attempts of reformers to settle the national problem from a supranational viewpoint. Thus this study does not claim to be a history of nationalism in Austria, let alone a history of the empire itself. Yet, in effect, Professor Engel-Janosi charges that the character of a different though related main problem, namely

that of the evolution of the Austrian Empire—in his terms—“is not grasped.” Except for a brief historical introduction my task was not to discuss it as such. Yet, if, as Dr. Engel-Janosi sees it, the western aspect of the empire problem has not been as adequately treated as the eastern—a contention I disagree with—it should be remembered that in the literature on the subject the latter aspect has been grossly neglected, and an attempt to balance, not to reverse, an often somewhat lopsided historiography would be warranted. It might be justified even if 1848, 1866, 1867, 1878, 1908 were not milestones in a gradual shifting of the empire’s center of gravity from the West to the East. As to allegedly lacking East and West discussions of the “international power problem” they will be found where they belong in a study of this kind, namely in the context of the analysis of the various national groups, the chapter on the empire’s collapse and the conclusions in both volumes. The same applies to the often oversimplified thesis of the empire’s economic unity. Though these factors are most important contributing causes in the presentation of the national problem they could not be treated as separate sections of my study.

As to the cultural social factors, Professor Engel-Janosi criticizes me for not giving consideration to the great achievements of nineteenth and twentieth century Austro-German literature. I yield to no one in indebtedness to and love for them. Yet these great works were created at a stage of German literary development where their influence on Austro-German national evolution was far less significant than that of the pioneers of the Slavonic cultural Renaissance on Slav nationalism. The latter’s achievements thus belong in a far more direct sense in the orbit of a political analysis of nationalism in Austria than those of the German-Austrian classics. There is no question of literary evaluation involved in this statement. To be sure, this literature in a very real sense represents not only Austro-German culture but a very important factor of Austrian culture in general. However I consider Austro-German culture even before 1848, Austro-German centralism, the tradition of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, as only one, though a highly important and in many ways a highly positive, factor in Austrian development. I do not identify this line of thought exclusively with Austrianism as a whole. I disagree with the widely held and still more widely implied assumption that cultural contributions in the Austro-German orbit are exclusively representative for Austrian as well as German culture whereas cultural achievements of the other national groups during that period are to be perceived only within their national orbit. This distinction seems to me a major mistake of traditional Austro-German historiography.

Dr. Engel-Janosi says further that the full significance of the supranational forces of army, nobility, church, and bureaucracy has not been considered. Yet, within the all too strict limits of my topic this influence has been discussed (see particularly I, 37, 38, 51–58 [Josephinism], 155, 156, 362; II, 208, 209, and many other passages). As to the degree of emphasis in the evaluation of these factors there seems to me room for honest disagreement. Austro-German centralism was undoubtedly a strongly centripetal force until 1848. Afterwards it got to some extent out of line with the concept of national evolution. Moreover its honest endeavors were increasingly exploited and distorted by the forces of a rising nationalism. Supranational Austro-German centralism after 1848 unfortunately failed to realize that without concessions to largely legitimate demands of other national groups it would further be identified with German national rather than supranational interests. Aristocracy and gradually also bureaucracy comprised a centrifugal as well as a centripetal force, to use the terminology of Oscar Jászi to

whose penetrating *Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* I have widely though not uncritically referred in this context. Neither of these factors nor the supranational factor in the army, the officers and long-serving noncommissioned officers, were however fully representative of the Austrian social structure.

Professor Engel-Janosi states further, "the author has little patience with those who wanted to solve the nationality problem while carefully avoiding a revolutionary break." This is a fully erroneous statement. The whole second volume of my study, apart from a relatively brief discussion and rejection of Marxian revolutionary trends and an analysis of the empire's collapse during the World War period, deals primarily with evolutionary attempts to reform the empire. If I had as little patience with evolutionary reform projects as the reviewer asserts I would not have been the first to undertake a systematic analysis of these reform ideas. Thus the very selection of my topic already refutes this contention. None of the other twelve extensive reviews which thus far have appeared in this country and in Austria have, by the way, questioned the fairness of my interpretation. In fact, as the record of my study clearly shows, I consider the trend of enlightened conservatism as exemplified by Ostrožinski, Palácky, Andrian-Werburg, Stadion, Eötvös, Lammasch, as most constructive. I see further valuable ideas in the reform work of the late Austrian federal president, the Social Democrat Karl Renner, which on the issue of empire reform had much more support from circles far to the right of his party than from his own fellow party members. I also see much valuable material in the work of the liberal Fischhof and the conservative Seipel. My evaluation of conservatives like Schwarzenberg (see particularly passages in Volume II, 69, 71) and Bach, as well as of the whole neo-absolutist period (II, 66-87) is by no means as fully negative as it is to be deduced from Dr. Engel-Janosi's remarks. I consider, however, the wrecking of the reform work of the Reichstag of Kremsier by the shortsightedness of the Schwarzenberg cabinet a true and irretrievable Austrian tragedy. My answer to Dr. Engel-Janosi's question, "If the monarchy had concentrated on much-needed constitutional experiments at that time, might the map of Central Europe not have been in 1850 somewhat similar to what it was in 1950?" is as follows: If Kremsier had succeeded the Russian frontier might possibly still be at the Dniester and not, in effect, at the Enns Bridge between Upper and Lower Austria.

Professor Engel-Janosi states that I see the Austrian Empire just as "an agglomeration of these heterogeneous domains and strips of lands acquired from by-gone or disintegrating neighboring countries" (II, 289). In the 867 pages of my work and particularly in the final conclusions there is superabundant evidence that this refers only to one of many facets of a difficult problem i.e., the technical expansion of Austria. I invite the reader to look six lines further. "Neither can it be denied that profound socio-economic and cultural factors supported and made possible the expansion of the Habsburg Power. Furthermore it is granted that the union of these lands in some ways created new cultural and social ties among them or strengthened already existing ties."

On the following page (II, 290) I state: "The price which would have to be paid for an almost inconceivable observation of the ethnic system as a state-building force in Eastern Central Europe in the 16th century when the Hungarian and Bohemian lands came under Habsburg rule would have been high indeed. It would have meant the emergence in place of the empire of a number of small, predominantly agricultural states subject to conquest from every direction. What is more important, that price would have to be paid at the expense of Western civilization. Not even the national groups which were culturally most

advanced at that time could have actively defended their lands against conquest by forces hostile to Christian occidental civilization." These words speak for themselves.

Thus I fully agree that the continued existence of the Austrian Empire would have been vastly preferable to the subsequent state of affairs in the Danube area let alone the conditions of today. I have expressly summed up this opinion on the very last page of my conclusions (II, 298). I consider the empire's dissolution at the end of World War I as regrettable but inevitable while, at least as far as the domestic crisis is concerned, Dr. Engel-Janosi feels the breakdown of 1918 could have been prevented. "Is there no legitimacy," he asks, "in the nineteenth century attitude which assumed that the wave of nationalism in Europe might one day pass away and that, if the empire had withstood its onslaught by then, its national problems might be resolved with more ease and possibly more mutual benefit?" Unquestionably this attitude was not only legitimate but fully rational at that time. Had it been otherwise, the idea of empire reform would have been as nonsensical as an attempt to analyze it under such an assumption. The point is, however, that the historian of today has to study these problems after the event which proved that the empire could not withstand this "onslaught." In the face of this overwhelming factual evidence it can hardly be denied that within the variety of reasons which led to the Austrian tragedy of 1918 the force of national disintegration played a decisive part.

The reviewer states further that "most surprising is his neglect of almost every publication on Austrian and Austro-German history since 1926." For reasons of space I have to answer this charge in figures. Both volumes—in two chapters pertinent to general Austro-German problems—contain some forty bibliographical references to works written between 1927 and 1948. Most of them have been listed or quoted more than once, some frequently. The corresponding figures for the more extensive chapters on the Magyars, and the Czechs and Croats, of items referred to, frequently several times, are 22 and 36 respectively. This does not include numerous references to literature published after 1926 to all these topics in other chapters and different context.

In 1,468 notes, most of them at least partly of a bibliographical character, an extensive literature in twelve languages has been covered. Yet strict standards of selection still had to be applied, particularly in regard to works either only tenuously connected with the main topic of the study or referring to background material. Furthermore obvious technical difficulties still prevailing at the time when the manuscript went to press in 1948 have prevented me from making the bibliography of the Second World War period and postwar period as full as I might have wished, particularly since as a matter of general principle I did not want to include items which I had no opportunity to check personally.

As to Srbik, a specific point of Dr. Engel-Janosi's criticism, references to four of his most representative works are listed in bibliographical notes. It is planned, in a reprinted edition which I hope will come out shortly, to include several references to his *Deutsche Einheit*.

Rutgers University

ROBERT A. KANN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The reply Professor Kann has written to my review of his book will give the reader the impression that the review was a disparaging one. May I therefore repeat that I consider this work "one of the most noteworthy" contributions

American historians have made to Austrian history during the last ten years, a list that contains such names as Professors Jerome Blum, Gulick, Langsam, and Rath. I spoke of the book as "scholarly and very thorough, a work which to my knowledge has no parallel in any language." I am accustomed to attach some meaning to such words. I drew attention to the chapters on the Slav nationalities as being of special interest.

One of my main objections remains that Professor Kann dealt with the nationality problem and especially with the national reform plans as detached from the connection with the international problems of the empire; such an "isolationist" approach is in my eyes not permissible in nineteenth-century Continental European history.

Professor Kann, I still contend, does not give the impression of being aware of the importance of the centuries-old trends that connected the Habsburg Empire with the West: a late seventeenth-century saying referred to the *casa d'Austria* as the basis of all Christendom. True, the last geographical symbols of such ties, like the "Vorlande," had been surrendered at the Congress of Vienna; but the trends were alive in the minds of Francis Joseph and a good number of his advisers.

The problem of shaping a pure "Austrian nationality," as it were a "supernational" nationality is in my eyes an important one. I said in the review that Professor Kann refers to this problem "incidentally" but a systematic discussion is lacking. In a fine essay by Paul Thun-Hohenstein on *Österreichische Lebensform* published in the spring of 1938 and suppressed by the Nazis immediately, I read that internationalism was always a determinant of the Austrian character.

I should have written: "the author has little patience with those *statesmen* who wanted to solve . . ." (Eötvös, Lammasch and also Seipel up to 1918 being primarily political writers) and "while the bibliography is on the whole *very rich* (instead of "useful"). I apologize for the omission of these words.

Catholic University

FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

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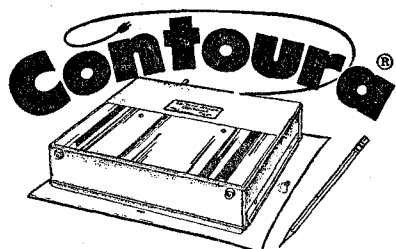
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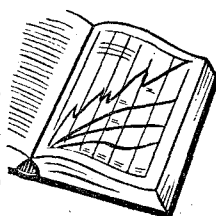
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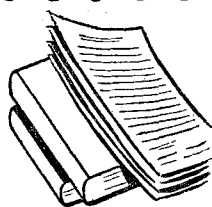
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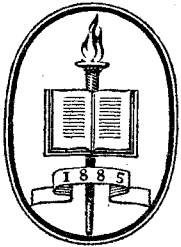
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